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MAKERS OF
CHRISTIANITY

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FROM JOHN COTTON TO LYMAN ABBOTT

BY
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NEW YORK
HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY

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PREFACE

My colleagues, in tracing the history of Christianity through the lives of its principal leaders, have followed the main stream of Christian development through the centuries, from its beginning to within one hundred years of our own time. It now becomes necessary to leave what may be termed the main stream and follow along one of its principal tributaries, namely, the stream of Christian development in the Americas.

This great tributary had its rise in the age of discovery and in the Europe of the Reformation. The latter cataclysm broke the main Christian stream into many parts, while the discovery of the New World furnished a great basin toward which many of these divergent streamlets naturally flowed. England, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Austria, France, Germany, in the colonial period, and all the races and religious groups in the world in later times have each made important contributions to this great American stream. It is the purpose of this third volume of *Makers of Christianity* to follow the great American Christian tributary, under the guidance of those Christian leaders who have been principally responsible both for its eddies and its main currents.

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**MAKERS OF
CHRISTIANITY**

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CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDING FATHERS

The most numerous and significant religious body to develop in America during the whole colonial period was the Congregationalist, the direct offspring of the Puritan movement in England. The Puritans were the extreme English Protestants who were not satisfied with the artificial religious compromise which resulted in the formation of the Anglican system. Puritan ideas began to emerge during the reign of Edward VI and their influence is seen in the publication of the Prayer Book of 1552 which provided for a more Protestant worship by giving the sermon the central place, by introducing congregational singing, and by the administration of the sacrament in both kinds to all communicants. But while there were such traces of extreme Protestantism in England previous to the reign of Queen Mary, yet it was this daughter of Catherine of Aragon who was primarily responsible for creating a definite Puritan party by driving into exile the most devout Protestants of her realm. These exiles returning to England on her death brought with them the intense Protestantism they found at Geneva and Frankfort. Beginning with the opening years of Elizabeth's reign the Puritans grew rapidly in numbers and in the intensity of their convictions, and when James ascended the throne (1603) they constituted an influential party.

Meanwhile the high-church party was likewise increasing

and, aided by royal authority under the first two Stuarts, James I and Charles I (1603-1649), its hand fell with ever-increasing severity upon the Puritans who offended against the Acts of Uniformity. Between 1629 and 1640 the oppression of the Puritans was at its height when the Court of the Star Chamber, the High Commission, and the Privy Council were the all-powerful instruments of the royal will and Archbishop Laud the willing tool in guiding the ecclesiastical policy of the King. It was in this period that the great Puritan migration to America occurred. The extreme Puritans, the Separatists, those who were convinced that the English church was past reformation from within, had already begun their immigration to America. First to Holland, the only nation in the world then practicing religious toleration, and then to Plymouth on Cape Cod (1620) came the Scrooby congregation of Separatists, furnishing example and encouragement to the great body of conformist Puritans remaining in England. Meanwhile oppression by the ecclesiastical authorities was on the increase, as was also the tyranny of the crown, and, despairing of any chance for church reform, the great body of English Puritans began to look across the Atlantic in the hope that there they might find a place of refuge where they could work out their convictions and build their own political and ecclesiastical structure.

Beginning in 1628 with the founding of Salem, the tide of Puritan immigration ran full from 1630 to 1640, bringing many of the best from the well-to-do, intelligent, ambitious, God-fearing middle class population, especially from the central and southeastern sections of England. Most of them had property, a few had a liberal education, and their ministers were generally Cambridge graduates.

They came of course hoping to better their economic condition, for industry and employment were on the decline in the motherland, but chiefly were the leaders fired with the hope of establishing a church free of the corruptions which marred their English mother church.

It must not be forgotten that the great majority of the Puritans who migrated to America were Church of England men, thoroughly in sympathy with an established church. In England they had fought to gain control of the Anglican establishment, not to destroy it. To America they now transplanted, as they thought, the true Anglican church, and from the beginning they planned to protect it from error and innovation by placing around it the guardianship of the civil state.

JOHN COTTON

Coming out to America in the great flood of Puritan emigration was John Cotton, who has been generally regarded as the most influential as well as the most able of the first generation of Puritan leaders in America. He was born on December 4, 1585, in the market town of Derby. His father, Roland Cotton, was a lawyer of strenuous religious life, his mother a devout Christian. At thirteen he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took full advantage of his student opportunities. In fact, we are told by a contemporary that "he fell so hard to his studies, and so profited in the knowledge of the tongues and arts" that he would have undoubtedly been chosen a fellow had not Trinity's funds run low just at that time. Trinity's failure gave Emmanuel College the opportunity to select him as a fellow, and it did so after a "diligent and strict examination." In this most Puritan of the Cambridge colleges

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Cotton remained for six years, becoming head lecturer and Dean and preaching occasionally, with great effect, at St. Mary's Church. Here he had a definite religious quickening, as a result of a sermon preached by a Puritan fellow of St. John's College.

Such a gifted young scholar would naturally attract attention anywhere, and when he was twenty-seven years of age (1612) he was chosen vicar of the large and influential parish church, St. Botolphs, in the seaport town of Boston in Lincolnshire. The Puritan element in the town favored his selection, but there are indications that Bishop Barlow of the diocese of Lincoln was with difficulty brought over to agree to the appointment. Here for twenty-one years John Cotton labored with great acceptability to the people. As a preacher he took great pains to prepare for his pulpit ministrations, and his sermons were always simple, plain, and direct, couched in language suited to the capacity of his humblest hearers. He was dignified in the pulpit, never florid or oratorical, always forceful. Indeed whenever he preached men heard him gladly, and went away impressed with what they had heard. From the beginning he possessed a large capacity to mold men to his own way of thinking.

Though always a Puritan in inclination, at the beginning of his ministry at St. Botolphs he followed the rubrics of the prayer book. Gradually, however, he began to alter the service by omitting certain forms and ceremonies in conformity with the Puritan notions, so that within a few years he was in trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities, though at first no steps were taken against him. His congregation supported him in these changes and St. Botolphs was in a fair way of becoming a church according to the

New England plan, as Episcopal courts were largely disregarded and the doctrine of the independence of the local congregation was put into practice. In 1621 some radical Puritans broke the beautiful stained glass windows in the church and defaced the carvings and monuments, but Cotton was in no way involved in this outrage.

By 1632 things had reached such a pass that the church authorities could no longer ignore the changes being made at St. Botolphs under Cotton's leadership, and in that year he was summoned before the Court of High Commission. Cotton and his friends well knew what this meant, nothing less than "scorns and prison," in the quaint expression of his first biographer. And with the knowledge and approval of the principal members of his congregation, Cotton fled in disguise to London and was concealed there by John Davenport, who was soon himself to lead out the New Haven Colony. Many of Cotton's friends had already gone to the New World and he had a live interest in Massachusetts; John Winthrop was his friend and he had preached the farewell sermon at Southampton on the sailing of the great Winthrop fleet of eleven ships in 1630. Moved by these considerations, together with the entreaty of his friends, Cotton resigned his vicariate on May 7, 1633, and in July he and his wife with numerous other Puritans, among them Thomas Hooker, the father of Connecticut, sailed away to New England in the *Griffin*, and landed safely in Boston on September fourth. On the voyage his first child was born—named Seaborn because of that momentous voyage. Cotton refused to baptize her because there was no settled congregation on board ship.

Naturally a man of such fame would be in great demand in the new colony, and to determine where his lot should

be cast, the Governor and council, with the ministers and elders of all the New England churches, met to deliberate on the matter. It was decided that the Boston church should have his services. Accordingly he was chosen teacher of the Boston church, of which John Wilson was the minister. Although of course already an ordained Anglican minister Cotton was reordained according to Congregational usage. Thus John Cotton entered upon his New England ministry at the age of forty-eight. Short of stature, with ruddy face and rather inclined to stoutness, his long hair now turned to snowy whiteness, he was however in the very prime of his vigor as he entered upon his duties in the rude Boston meeting house. And he was soon shaping the destinies of Puritan New England as was no other single individual in the whole colony.

It is difficult for later generations to understand the type of influence exerted by the first two generations of New England ministers. The ministers held no civil office, but the civil authorities considered themselves merely the hand-maidens of the church and consulted the ministers on every political and legislative concern; and no New England minister was ever more broadly influential in this respect than was John Cotton. Nor did he hesitate to treat matters pertaining to government in the pulpit. Indeed, frequently his pulpit pronouncements were effective in shaping governmental policies. As Williston Walker suggests, there is as much truth as exaggeration in the statement, often quoted, regarding Cotton, that "whatever he delivered in the pulpit was soon put into an Order of the Court, if of a civil, or set up as a practice in the church, if of an ecclesiastical concernment." John Cotton has been characterized as "the unmitred pope of a pope-hating people."

Another important factor in putting power into the hands of the New England ministry was their control of the franchise. The limiting of the suffrage to church members had been adopted two years before Cotton's arrival, but he fully approved of it, and the clergy took good care to admit none to church membership suspected of opposition to the established order. John Cotton's position on democracy is summed up in his famous phrase:

Democracy, I do not conceyve that ever God did ordeyne as a fitt government eyther for church or commonwealth. . . . As for monarchy and aristocracy, they are both of them clearly approvved, and directed in Scripture yet so as [God] referreth the sovereignty to himselfe, and setteth up Theocracy in both, as the best form of government.

The theocratic system was one of necessity which placed the minority in control. God in the Scriptures, the theocrat contended, did not speak by a majority of votes, rather his chosen were the minority, the remnant of Israel. One of the principal tasks then of the New England minister was to devise ways and means of keeping the Saints in complete control. We cannot understand the spirit of the men who established the New England theocracy unless we fully appreciate the sincerity of their feeling that they were God's chosen people. They were sure He had revealed Himself to them and led them out to America, the land of promise, in order that they might be free to work out their plans away from the sin and corruptions of the Old World. And since they were God's chosen agency in receiving and setting forth the truth, the New England Puritans very naturally looked upon all who objected to their control as

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minions of Satan. Hence the bitter intolerance with which they dealt with those who opposed them. They had not come to America to establish religious liberty; "they never entertained a thought of opening the doors of their new Zion" to any who differed from them. As Nathaniel Ward put it, "All Familists, Antinomians, Anabaptists and other Enthusiasts shall have free liberty to keep away from us."

It is only in the light of these facts that John Cotton's controversies with Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson become intelligible. In connection with these two much-discussed controversies Cotton has been severely lashed by the modern critics. In both controversies Cotton was on the wrong side in the light of history, and they have done more to damage his character than any other episodes of his eventful life.

Mrs. Hutchinson and her husband had been members of Cotton's church in England and had come out to America as his admirers. Mrs. Hutchinson had held him up to praise as one of the two New England ministers who taught a "covenant of grace." Perhaps her principal offense was her presumption in criticizing the New England ministers in a semi-public fashion. Indeed John Wilson complained to his colleagues that she and her followers were "casting dung on the ministers' faces." At first Cotton sided with Mrs. Hutchinson and her party, but after the controversy came to have a political aspect, and after the defeat of Governor Vane, who had favored the Hutchinson party, Cotton went over to Mrs. Hutchinson's opponents and in her merciless church trial attacked her with vehemence. It is hard to escape the conclusion that Cotton was influenced by unworthy considerations in changing his position.

The controversy with Williams, which will be more fully discussed in the next chapter, took place after Williams' banishment, and continued until Cotton's death. Its chief importance lies in the fact that out of it came the clearest pronouncement of Williams' views on soul liberty.

It would be difficult to overestimate the influence exerted by John Cotton in the formative period of New England. Of all his numerous writings his works on the theory and practice of Congregationalism were the most important. Of these, *The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven* (1644) and *The Way of the Churches of Christ in New England* (1645) were the most influential. He was the recognized leader in the Cambridge Synod (called 1646) and was one of the three chosen to formulate a model of Government for the Congregational churches, which resulted in the Cambridge Platform (1648).

The first generations of American Puritans abound in great names. Richard Mather, the father of the Mather dynasty, was an associate of and co-laborer with John Cotton, and was one of the leaders with him in the formulation of the Cambridge Platform. There was Thomas Hooker the eloquent, the father of Connecticut. There was Increase Mather, the son of Richard, perhaps the most outstanding of the Puritan leaders of the second generation, who besides serving a lifetime as pastor of the second church in Boston was the president of Harvard College for nearly a quarter of a century; and when in 1684 Massachusetts lost her charter, the colony united in a request that Increase Mather undertake a mission to England to secure a new instrument of government. In 1691 he returned, having succeeded in his difficult task. Such were the New England ministers upon whose capable shoulders were placed

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the principal burdens of building the new Zion in New England. And among them all, in the words engraved on his headstone, stands

JOHANNES COTTONUS
CUJUS ULTIMA LAUS EST
QUOD FUERIT INTER NOV-ANGLOS PRIMUS.

JAMES BLAIR

In the course of the colonial period the Church of England came to be established by law in all the colonies south of Pennsylvania and Delaware; it was considered the state church, too, in three counties of New York. It was the church supported by the prestige of royal authority—one of the reasons, perhaps, why it was never able to gain large popular support, even in the southern colonies where it was established from the beginning. The Anglican church was stronger and more influential in Virginia and Maryland than anywhere else, and the two men who supplied its best colonial leadership there were James Blair and Thomas Bray, the former the first Commissary of the Bishop of London for Virginia, the latter the first Commissary for Maryland.

From the first settlement at Jamestown chaplains had been appointed by the Virginia Company to look after the spiritual welfare of the colonists, and these men seem to have been faithful in the performance of their duties. It was during this early period that the Bishop of London as a member of the Council for Virginia came to have jurisdiction over the Established Church in Virginia, and as other colonies were established, they too were considered a part of his diocese.

There was much difficulty from the beginning in obtaining suitable ministers for the new parishes formed as the colony expanded. But when Virginia became a royal colony in 1624 the quality of the Virginia clergyman seems to have deteriorated rapidly. Governor William Berkeley's familiar statement made to the Commissioners of Foreign Plantations in 1671 presents a general picture of the religious situation. He reported a population of forty thousand, including two thousand Negro slaves and six thousand white servants. There were forty-eight parishes and the ministers well paid. "But of all other commodities," he complains, "so of this the worst are sent us." Morgan Godwin, an ordained minister in Virginia, confirms Governor Berkeley's statement, attesting in a letter to Berkeley that "two-thirds of the preachers are made up of leaden lay priests of the Vestries ordination and are both the grief and shame of the rightly ordained clergy there." Perhaps the principal reason for this condition was the absence of Episcopal supervision and the control of the parishes by the lay Vestries, which were generally made up of the large landholders and were self-perpetuating. In order to maintain their control the Vestries generally refused to induct their ministers, and often half the parishes were vacant.

Such was the situation which led the Bishop of London, Henry Compton, in 1689 to appoint James Blair as his first commissary or deputy in Virginia, to supervise the clergy and the parishes in a general way but without power of ordination or confirmation.

Little is known of the early life of James Blair. Born in Bauffshire, Scotland, in 1656, he possessed to an eminent degree those characteristically Scotch traits of strong moral and religious character and indomitable courage. He was

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educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen, received his master's degree at the University of Edinburgh in 1673 and immediately entered the ministry of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. For several years as rector of a parish in the diocese of Edinburgh, he served with "diligence, care and gravity." But because of the disfavor of the Episcopal Church in Scotland he did not stay long, and we next find him employed in the office of the Master of the Rolls in London. There he became acquainted with Dr. Henry Compton, Bishop of London, who prevailed upon him to accept an appointment as a missionary to Virginia. Arriving in Virginia in 1685, he became the rector of the parish known after 1720 as Henrico, located some seventy miles up the James River from Jamestown. Here he remained for nine years. In 1694 he became the minister at Jamestown where he remained sixteen years, after which he was chosen as rector of Bruton Church, Williamsburg, the seat of William and Mary College, and after 1700 the capital of the colony. Here he remained until his death in 1743. As a preacher he was plain and practical, forcibly denouncing all forms of sin. His congregations especially at Jamestown and Williamsburg were made up of the élite of the colony, but his influential and wealthy parishioners did not deter him from doing his full duty by them. Four volumes of his sermons were published in London in 1722, and were republished in a second edition in 1740.

Blair's chief claim to historic importance however is not his faithful shepherding of his flock, important as this was, especially at that time; but rather his administration of the office of Commissary and his work as founder and first president of the College of William and Mary. The work of the Commissary was a difficult and thankless task, for the

Virginia clergy were in an especially demoralized condition. Drunkenness was common among them, and with it went the use of profane language, quarreling, and the neglect of duty. The bishops of London seem to have made the common mistake of thinking that men of ordinary ability were quite good enough for a new country, whereas, of all places, the ablest men are most needed in new fields where new trails are to be blazed and where men stand or fall by the sheer force of their own characters. It must not be thought however that all the Virginia clergy were men of low character and loose habits. But the sinful and ugly conduct of a few ministers gave a bad reputation to the whole number, and it was with the few of evil life that the new Commissary now had to deal.

The fact that Blair was a Scotchman was a handicap and was the basis for much prejudice against him. He was termed a "Scot hireling" by some of the clergy and the general conventions which Blair called from time to time were often scenes of hot debate during which bitter attacks were made upon the Commissary, or sarcastic remarks made concerning him. The fact that he held four offices and drew as many salaries did not help his reputation. In spite of Blair's hot temper he seems to have borne these jibes and attacks with quiet equanimity. He experienced difficulty in getting reliable evidence against ministers accused of misconduct, and he found the church people strongly opposed to the holding of spiritual courts. Although righteously indignant at all forms of immorality, in his dealings with the clergy he was gentleness itself, and during the first thirty-five years of his commissaryship he suspended only two ministers. Keeping the parishes supplied with suitable ministers was a continuous problem. Blair's letters to the

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Bishop of London and the other English bishops are filled with solicitation for more ministers. His work was not in vain, for there was steady improvement both as to number and quality of the clergy. In 1696 there were at least fifty parishes in Virginia, and only twenty-two had ministers; in 1707 there were forty ministers; in 1723 there were about ten vacancies; ten years later but two vacancies were reported and when Blair died (1743) there were but two vacant churches.

Perhaps the most interesting phase of the career of Commissary Blair was his relationship to the government of Virginia. Besides being Commissary he was also a member of the Council, for many years its president. This office brought Blair and the Virginia governors into close relationship. It was a part of the Governor's business to induct ministers into office when they were presented by the Vestrymen. The Governor also had the power to induct a minister without presentation if the Vestry failed to present a candidate within six months. These duties of the Governor in connection with the church brought the Commissary and the Governor into conflict. And Blair on numerous occasions became a counterpoise to the arbitrary governors. Governor Andros was already in disrepute when he came to Virginia in 1692, and soon got himself into the bad graces of Commissary Blair by opposing Blair's pet project, the College of William and Mary. When Blair went to England in 1698 on college business he brought thirteen charges against Andros, five of which pertained to the church and the clergy, the remainder to the college. The Governor had his defenders who in turn laid charges against Blair before the Archbishop of Canterbury. These

Blair successfully met, but the charges against Andros were mostly sustained and he was recalled.

Governor Nicholson, successor to Andros, had the reputation of being a friend of the church. But he was a tyrant, in private relations profane and immoral; and when angry he stormed and cursed all and sundry who opposed him. By such behavior he may have succeeded in cowering ordinary men, but Blair was not of that variety. Nicholson's animosity against Blair was increased by a love affair which the Governor had with a young Virginia lady, who refused to marry the love-lorn Governor. The Governor abused everyone who opposed him in this affair, among them the Commissary, whose brother the Governor accused of being a rival. The Governor even supplied the college boys at William and Mary with pistols, powder and shot to keep the Commissary away from the college. In the Council Governor Nicholson was profane and disrespectful toward the clergy and guilty of numerous illegal and arbitrary acts. Eventually charges were drawn up by the Council against him and presented to the Queen. The charges were sustained and the Governor removed. With Governor Spotswood, who took office in 1710, Commissary Blair was on much better terms, indeed they were close friends for years. But eventually trouble arose over the gubernatorial practice of inducting ministers immediately a parish became vacant. This situation led to a long disagreement, and when in 1721 Blair again visited England Governor Spotswood was recalled. Thus Commissary Blair had triumphed over three Virginia governors. Although Blair was not blameless by any means, since he too was blessed with high temper and undoubtedly an enlarged sense of his own importance, on the whole he did stand for

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those things which made for the highest and best interests of the church and of the life of the colony.

One of the principal projects Blair had in mind from the beginning of his commissaryship was the establishment of a college in Virginia. He succeeded early in arousing interest, especially among the Burgesses, so that he and other prominent men in the colony were empowered to solicit subscriptions, and in 1691 the Assembly sent Blair to England to secure a charter and funds. The purpose of establishing the college as set forth in the subscription paper was threefold:

The education of our Youth, a constant supply of our Ministry and perhaps a foundation for ye Conversion of our neighboring Heathen [Indian] to the Christian Faith.

Blair's mission to England was entirely successful. The Bishop of London promised his support; he won the favor of Bishop Stillingfleet of Worcester and the Queen. Having been introduced to the Privy Council by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Blair presented his plan for a college which won the remark from King William:

Sir, I am glad that colony is upon so good a design, and I will promote it to the best of my power.

The King's and Queen's favor determined that its name should be William and Mary College. The whole plan was now presented, and passed the Committee on Plantations, which granted a tax of a penny a pound on all the tobacco exported from Virginia and Maryland for its support, the fees and profits arising from the office of surveyor-general, and twenty thousand acres of land. Blair now presented himself with the royal order to Seymour, the

attorney general, to issue the charter. Seymour objected, stating that England was in no condition to erect a college in Virginia. Blair explained that the college was intended to educate young men for the ministry, stating that Virginians had souls to save as well as Englishmen. To this argument Seymour replied: "Souls, damn your souls! Make tobacco!" an indication that numerous Englishmen cared nothing for the intellectual and spiritual welfare of the colonists.

In 1693 James Blair was back in Virginia and at once set himself to the task of having the college building erected. There was difficulty in collecting the twenty-five hundred pounds subscribed by Virginians, some being angry that the college was located at Williamsburg, since of course every plantation wanted it. Others objected because the Commissary was named President in the charter and they objected to his drawing two salaries. But in spite of these handicaps work was carried on, and the building designed by Sir Christopher Wren was completed at a cost of £3,089. Before the building was completed a grammar school was opened (1693) but the college proper did not open for several years, the first commencement being held just at the end of the century. In 1705 a fire completely destroyed the college, but Blair set about immediately, encouraged by Governor Spotswood, to restore the building. By 1729 the college had its full quota of professors provided by the charter—six—all graduates of English or Scotch universities, the first college in America to have a full faculty.

While William and Mary College failed to furnish an adequate supply of ministers for the colony, as Blair had hoped, it nevertheless turned out a long list of distinguished

leaders. Blair represented the church and the college in the midst of self-seeking politicians, and as a result made many bitter enemies. But his work lives on even to our own day.

In connection with the life and work of James Blair mention should be made of Thomas Bray, first Commissary for Maryland. Bray was a graduate of All Souls College, Oxford (1678), and began his career as a conscientious country rector. Appointed Commissary by Bishop Compton in 1696, he did not go out immediately, but remained in England recruiting missionaries for the colony, and gathering libraries for the colonial clergy, believing that the low state of religion in the colonies was partly due to the meagerness of ministerial equipment. When he finally came to Maryland in March, 1700, he had collected more than thirty libraries. To keep up this work there was established largely through Bray's efforts a voluntary organization called the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (1699). Though he remained in Maryland little more than a year, a period filled with feverish activity, his interest in the colony never ceased, and in 1701, with his assistance, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was formed. Both societies functioned with increasing effectiveness throughout the remainder of the colonial period, the S.P.G. sending out to the thirteen colonies, from 1702 to the opening of the War for Independence, three hundred and ten ordained missionaries and expending £227,454.

FRANCIS MAKEMIE

Previous to 1700 Presbyterianism had barely begun in America. In the earlier stages of English Puritanism the

Presbyterianism of Scotland and Geneva furnished the principal model, and, as Eggleston points out (*Beginnings of a Nation*, p. 213), nothing seemed more probable than the revival of Presbyterianism in America with the Puritan emigration. Instead, however, the churches of New England followed the model of John Robinson's Independency. But from the beginning Presbyterian influence was present in New England, though eventually most of the Presbyterian New Englanders migrated to Long Island, where by 1685 there were thirteen of their churches. Another factor which was responsible for bringing Presbyterians to the American colonies was the establishment of Episcopacy in Scotland and the disestablishment of Presbyterianism during the reign of Charles II (1660-1685). This caused considerable Scotch immigration, especially to Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, and by the end of the seventeenth century there was to be found scattered throughout the colonies a considerable Presbyterian element, though with no Presbyterial organization. It was the Scotch-Irish immigration, however, which brought American colonial Presbyterianism to a position of importance, and raised the number of their congregations to a place of numerical superiority exceeded only by the Congregationalists.

From about 1720 onward to the opening of the American Revolution, the largest part of the immigration to the American colonies came from Ireland. This immigration, made up primarily of the descendants of the lowland Scotch colonists of north Ireland, was produced chiefly by economic discontent. The English Parliament treated Ireland not as an integral part of the kingdom, but as a colony, and her trade and manufacturing were restricted for the benefit of England, a procedure in full accord with the eco-

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nomic delusion of the time. The Woolens Act of 1699 destroyed the Irish woolens trade and caused great discontent among the Scotch-Irish weavers. To this economic discontent was added a religious grievance, since the Presbyterian Irish were compelled to pay tithes to support the Irish Established Church. Fiske tells us that at the opening of the eighteenth century there was probably a smaller percentage of illiteracy in Ulster than was to be found anywhere else in the world. This was due to the fact that there were more than a million Presbyterian Scotch in Ulster, a type comparable to that which colonized Massachusetts and Connecticut. As a result of England's illiberal policy more than half of the Presbyterian population of Ulster migrated to America between 1730 and 1740. It is with this vast movement of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians into colonial America that we are here concerned.

The future of Presbyterianism in America depended largely upon the effectiveness with which leadership was supplied to these swarming Scotch-Irish immigrants. And it is to Francis Makemie, more than to any other, that credit is due for the furnishing of this early leadership.

Francis Makemie, an Irishman of Scotch parentage, was born in Donegal County, Ireland, in 1658. His boyhood covered the period of the terrible Anglican crusade against Scotch Presbyterianism, when the boot, the thumbscrew and the scaffold were used to enforce submission to bishops. Such suffering, however, only serves to deepen allegiance, and we can well recognize this to have been true in the case of Francis Makemie. We know little of Makemie's childhood, but from indirect sources we learn of two brothers and a sister, and from his own testimony that "a work of grace and conversion was wrought in my heart at fifteen

years of age by and from the pains of a godly school-master." Presbyterian students were barred from Irish colleges, and young Makemie turned his face toward the University at Glasgow. He walked to the coast, took passage on a cattle ship and again on foot made his way to Glasgow. His university course completed, he returned to Ireland, and after a trial sermon he was licensed by the Presbytery of Laggan in 1681. The year previous a letter from the Eastern Shore of Maryland written by Colonel William Stevens, an Anglican, describing the religious destitution of the Presbyterian colonists, was read before the Presbytery, and young Makemie, then twenty-two years of age, heard that letter. Two years later he was ordained by the Presbytery for missionary work in America, and in 1683 we find him in Maryland.

Under whose auspices he was sent to America and what provision was made for his support we do not know. We know, however, that until 1698 he labored as an itinerant evangelist in North Carolina, Virginia and Maryland; he visited England in 1691; he made at least one visit to Philadelphia and is credited with planting the seed of Presbyterianism there; and in 1696-1698 he was in the island of Barbados. During these early years in America he was active also in defending Presbyterianism against the attacks of its enemies and published two pamphlets, the first in 1694 an answer to the Quaker George Keith, later turned Anglican, who had made a bitter attack on a catechism Makemie had published attempting to popularize the Westminster Confession; the second in 1699 defending "*Reformed Protestants . . . and Non-Conformists* from misrepresentations made against them in the Barbados and other places."

Evidently compelled of necessity largely to support himself Makemie combined business with preaching, especially, apparently, during his stay in the Barbados. He is credited with the organization of five churches on the Eastern Shore of Maryland; he ministered for a time to a congregation near the present site of Norfolk, Virginia. Eventually he took up his residence in Accomac County on the eastern shore of Virginia where sometime before 1698 he married Naomi, the daughter of a wealthy merchant and landowner, William Anderson. His name is most intimately connected with Rehobeth and Snow Hill churches just across the line in Maryland, though in 1699 he obtained a license from Virginia to preach at two of his own houses in Virginia, the first dissenting minister in Virginia to obtain this privilege under the Toleration Act. On the death of his father-in-law in 1698 Makemie and his wife were the principal heirs, and as a result his business and land interests were greatly extended. This, however, caused little if any relaxation in his ministerial activities, and he remained the pastor of the Rehobeth church until his death.

One of Makemie's chief anxieties was that of securing additional ministers for the new and scattered congregations of immigrants forming in the colonies. In 1704-05 while on a visit to England he persuaded the Presbyterian ministers of London, who had raised a fund to carry on missionary activities, to furnish support for two missionaries to America for two years. He at once secured John Hampden, an Irishman, and George McNish, a Scotchman, both graduates of the University of Glasgow, to accompany him to America, and in 1705 the three arrived in Maryland. Taking advantage of his sojourn in London

Makemie had published a pamphlet addressed to the inhabitants of Virginia and Maryland, in which he argued, in the interest of both the religious and the material welfare of the colonists, that new settlers should form towns rather than remote and scattered settlements, since in towns "congregations are never wanting, and children and servants never are without opportunity of hearing." Hampden and McNish became ministers of four of the churches Makemie had formed in Maryland.

It is generally conceded that Francis Makemie was the moving spirit in bringing together the scattered Presbyterian ministers in Maryland, Delaware and eastern Pennsylvania, for the purpose of forming the first Presbytery. The record of that organizing meeting, probably held in the spring of 1706, has been lost, but we know the names of those who were present—Francis Makemie, who was chosen moderator, John Hampden, George McNish, Samuel Davis, John Wilson, Nathaniel Taylor, and Jedediah Andrews. As Briggs suggests, it was an Irish *meeting* of ministers, not a Westminster classical Presbytery, or a Presbytery of the Kirk of Scotland model. "Our design," says Makemie in a letter to Dr. Benjamin Colman of Boston (March 27, 1707), was

to meet yearly, and oftener if necessary, to consult the most proper measures for advancing religion and propagating Christianity in our various stations, and to maintain such a correspondence as may conduce to the improvement of our ministerial abilities. . . .

Thus was formed under Makemie's leadership a rallying point for Presbyterianism in the middle colonies, enabling them to license and ordain their ministers and furnishing

them a means of co-operation with the organized forces of Congregationalism.

The Presbyterian ministers on Long Island and others north of Philadelphia had not come into the Presbytery, and probably to acquaint them with what had been done, and to consult with the Boston ministers, Makemie and Hampden set out from Philadelphia, after the adjournment of the Presbytery in October, 1706. Arriving in New York Makemie was invited by the Puritans in the city to preach in the Dutch Church on the Sabbath, having previously paid his respects to the Governor, Lord Cornbury. The Governor, however, refused permission and Makemie then preached in the home of William Jackson. On the same day Hampden preached at Newtown, Long Island. Makemie later went to Long Island, having been announced to preach at Newtown, when he and Hampden were arrested by Lord Cornbury's order. Lord Cornbury, one of the most despicable of all the colonial governors, has been characterized as "a spendthrift, a 'grafter,' a bigoted oppressor and a drunken, vain fool," who in spite of his speculation showed great zeal for the Church of England. When brought before the Governor, Makemie defended their right to preach in New York on the ground that the law of liberty had no limiting clause. The Governor replied that their certificates were only for Virginia and Maryland, and that the law was intended to stop strolling preachers such as they, and that they should not spread their pernicious doctrines in New York. When required to give bond and security for good behavior Makemie replied:

If your lordship require it, we will give security for our behaviour; but to give bond and security to preach no more

in your excellency's government, if invited and desired by any people, we neither can nor dare do it.

To this the Governor replied, "Then you must go to the gaol."

Hampden was soon released, but Makemie was imprisoned for six weeks and was finally released on bail to appear for trial in June, 1707. When Makemie returned to New York to stand trial, he was defended by three of the ablest lawyers in the colony, William Nicholl, James Reiguere, and David Jameson. They showed that his preaching had not been private nor unlawful, for the law of the Province stated that all persons professing faith in God by Jesus Christ may meet freely at convenient places and worship according to their respective persuasions. David Jameson said:

We have no Established Church here; we have liberty of conscience by act of Assembly made in the beginning of William and Mary's reign. This province is made up chiefly of Dissenters and persons not of English birth.

Both Makemie and his able defenders realized that the rights of non-conformists everywhere in the colonies were at stake.

The pleading being ended the jury was directed to bring in a special verdict, and in a short time they returned and pronounced Makemie not guilty. But notwithstanding his acquittal Makemie was not released until he had paid the costs of his prosecution as well as his defense, amounting to the large sum of more than £83.

In a long letter to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations Cornbury gives his version of the whole affair, describing Makemie as a "Jack-of-all-trades; he is

a preacher, a doctor of physic, a merchant, an attorney, a counselor-at-law, and which is worse of all, a Disturber of governments." And he entreats their protection against this malicious man, "who is well known in Virginia and Maryland as a disturber of the peace and quiet." And well might the Governor call for help, for his arbitrary and outrageous treatment of Makemie was the culmination of a long series of tyrannical acts, which aroused the entire non-conformist opinion of the colonies. At the next meeting of the New York Assembly charges of bribery and encroachment of the liberties of the people were lodged against him, and soon afterwards (1709) he was recalled.

While in Boston Makemie printed the sermon which had caused his arrest and also published *A Narrative of a New and Unusual American Imprisonment of Two Presbyterian Ministers and Prosecution of Mr. Francis Makemie*, which doubtless contributed to the Governor's recall.

Whether the long and arduous journey from Virginia to Boston and return, together with the harsh treatment in New York, undermined his health, we do not know, but we do know that before another summer had ended he was gone (1708), leaving a widow and two daughters.

Francis Makemie was not a genius, but he was an energetic, courageous, and pious man, "well fitted by his good judgment and executive ability to be a leader in what his practical churchship discerned as a growing necessity of the times—the more effective organization of the scattered Presbyterian congregations." His co-religionists rightly consider him the Father of American Presbyterianism, and in 1906 they celebrated the bicentenary of the formal organization of their church by making provision for the erection of a suitable monument to Francis Makemie. The

Makemie farm was purchased and three acres set aside as a park, which included the site of the old family cemetery. At the dedication Henry Van Dyke contributed an appropriate sonnet ending with

Oh, who can tell how much we owe to thee,
 Makemie, and to labors such as thine,
 For all that makes America the shrine
 Of faith untrammelled and of conscience free?
 Stand here, gray stone, and consecrate the sod
 Where sleeps this brave Scotch-Irish man of God!

HENRY MELCHIOR MÜHLENBERG

The first German settlements in America came about from three principal causes: first, the economic and political conditions prevailing in southern Germany in the eighteenth century; second, the religious persecution of the petty princes who presided over the numerous independent principalities into which Germany was divided at that time; and third, the wide advertisement which Pennsylvania received through William Penn and his agents.

The missionary zeal of the early Quakers brought numerous missionaries into Germany. George Fox came in 1655, and in 1671 and 1677 William Penn made missionary journeys into Holland and southern Germany. Their success in winning converts was small, but their significance lay in the fact that they stirred the first waves of German immigration to America. Soon after William Penn acquired the great province of Pennsylvania a descriptive pamphlet was prepared to which was appended Penn's essay on religious liberty, and this translated into German was scattered broadcast through the Palatinate. To tens of thousands of Germans this information regarding America was

good news indeed. The terrible loss of life, the moral degradation, and the property loss caused by the Thirty Years' War had been followed by periodic plundering invasions by the Bavarians and French. Palatinate cities were burned, fields again and again laid waste, homes and buildings destroyed. To all this was added the tyranny of petty rulers who were often guilty also of religious persecution of the bitterest kind. An instance of this persecution is furnished by the Electors of the Palatinate following Karl Ludwig. They were Catholic fanatics under Jesuit influence, and persecution of all Protestants—Reformed, Lutherans and Mennonites alike—was carried on systematically, resulting in confiscation of church property and the expulsion of worshipers from the country. Such were the causes which set in motion the vast tide of German immigration to the American colonies in the eighteenth century.

No group of emigrants to the American colonies were so shamelessly exploited as were the Germans. Unable to speak English, they were at the mercy of representatives of rapacious ship and land companies. Many without the means to meet the cost of the voyage to the promised land sold themselves to ship captains, who in turn, on arriving in America, sold them to the highest bidder for a period of servitude. For this reason they were called Redemptioners. The very nature of this immigration and the poverty of the colonists meant that they were accompanied by few pastors or teachers. As a result religious and educational destitution was characteristic of many of the early German communities and numerous ecclesiastical tramps took advantage of this situation to impose themselves upon them.

The first Germans to arrive in America were Mennonites,

Dunkers, and German Quakers, but by the end of the first third of the eighteenth century thousands of Reformed and Lutheran immigrants had arrived. What is known as the Palatinate immigration in the early years of the century came principally to the Hudson and Mohawk valleys, but later Pennsylvania and Maryland received the largest share of the German settlers. Prior to the German immigration several Lutheran congregations had been formed among the Dutch in New York and by the Swedes on the Delaware, but as late as 1740, although by that time thousands of German Lutherans had come to America (and there had been some worthy pastors, such as Justus and Daniel Falkner, and the Stoevers, father and son), the general religious situation among the American Germans was deplorable indeed.

Meanwhile much concern was felt for the situation in America, especially at the University of Halle and by Rev. F. D. Ziegenhagen, the Lutheran court preacher in London. Halle had become the center of Pietism in Germany, a movement against stereotyped religion begun by Philip Jacob Spener and carried on under the dynamic leadership of August Hermann Francke at Halle. Not only was Halle the center of Pietism, but at this time it was the principal missionary center in Germany. It was through these two influences that there came out to America in 1742 Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, who not only has the distinction of being called the Father of American Lutheranism, but is the founder of one of the most distinguished of American families.

Henry M. Mühlenberg was a native of Hanover, born September 6, 1711, at Einbeck, the seventh of nine children. His father, a shoemaker by trade, was an officer of

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St. Mary's Church, his mother the daughter of a retired army officer. Left fatherless when Henry was twelve years of age, the family found itself in straitened circumstances, and the youth was compelled to give up his studies for several years in order to help support his mother and the younger children. He was able however to complete his preparatory education, and at the same time to learn to play the organ. In 1735 the University of Goettingen was established and young Mühlenberg was given the opportunity of entering the new institution on a scholarship furnished by his native city. At Goettingen he lived at the home of a member of the faculty. And being largely dependent upon his own resources, he with two other students opened a school for poor children; this was bitterly opposed by some of the clergy and schoolmasters of the town. Mühlenberg and his friends, however, gained the support of two of the German nobility, Counts Reuss von Koestritz and Henkel von Poeltzig—both of whom had identified themselves with the Pietistic movement—with the result that the school was placed under the supervision of the theological faculty and developed into the Goettingen Orphan House which is still in existence.

Having completed his theological studies at Goettingen, Mühlenberg was invited to become a teacher in the famous Orphan House at Halle. His year at Halle in association with Francke was to determine the future course of his life. From Halle numerous missionaries had gone out to various parts of the world, and Mühlenberg was soon considering the call for missionary service. He thought of going to the East Indies, but the way was not open at the time, and after a year at Halle he accepted a call as co-pastor of the church at Grossheimsdorf in Upper

Lusatia. This was a living under the control of a devout Pietist, Baroness von Gersdorf, an aunt of Count Zinzendorf and a relative of Count Reuss, his former patron. The prodigal generosity of the Baroness, however, eventually necessitated the selling of her estate, so that Mühlenthal's position became more or less precarious. While he was visiting at Halle in 1741 Francke, who had heard of the changed situation at Grossheimsdorf, presented to him an urgent call to the scattered Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania. The call had come through Dr. Ziegenhagen, the court preacher in London, who was greatly concerned at the dearth of religion among the Germans in America. The call had been pending for eight years, because of the unwillingness of the congregations in America to pledge a definite support to a minister, but Mühlenthal accepted it after six weeks' consideration despite the uncertainty of support.

Going first to London, Mühlenthal for nine weeks was the guest of Dr. Ziegenhagen learning of conditions in America and practicing his English. Chaplain Ziegenhagen desired that he should first visit the Lutheran congregations of Salzbergers in Georgia. The Salzbergers, having been driven from their homes in Austria by the bitter persecution of the Catholic bishop, had come out to Georgia in four groups between 1734 and 1741, and had formed several congregations there under two faithful pastors, both of whom were graduates of Halle. Mühlenthal set sail from England to Charleston, South Carolina, and after a voyage of twelve weeks, arrived at the latter port September 23, 1742. He made his way to the Salzberger settlements in Georgia and spent several profitable weeks among them, giving them help and encouragement and

learning something of the problems he was soon to face. On November 25, he arrived at Philadelphia, the busy Quaker capital.

When Mühlenberg arrived in America he was just entering upon his thirty-second year. Robust of frame, broad-shouldered, of medium weight, with an open frank countenance and ready smile, he was blessed with an unusual degree of common sense and abounding energy. He was gentle and humble in his dealing with others, and possessed of the rare ability to see viewpoints not his own. To his thorough education in the arts and theology was added an unusual talent for languages, so that he was soon able to preach in English and Dutch as well as in German. And perhaps most important of all were the sincerity and warmth of his piety and his exemplary life.

Of the three congregations over which he was to preside one was located in Philadelphia and two in Montgomery County, north of that city. All were much divided over the union movement agitated by Count Zinzendorf, who was then in America attempting to unite the several German religious groups under his leadership. To make things worse two discredited German ministers had imposed themselves upon the congregations. Mühlenberg had arrived unannounced, but within four weeks he had gained possession of his field, had rid his parishes of both the Zinzendorf influence and the impostors, and on December 27 was installed over his congregations by the Swedish Lutheran pastor at Wilmington.

From the beginning of his work in America Mühlenberg conceived his task to be far more than simply ministering to his own congregations. Soon after his coming a congregation at Germantown was added to his immediate super-

vision, and within a relatively short time churches were formed at Lancaster, Tulpehocken, and York. He was frequently called upon to arbitrate church difficulties outside Pennsylvania. His tact and wisdom as an arbitrator are well illustrated in his handling of the case (1745) of August Wolfe, a Lutheran pastor of several congregations in New Jersey, and of a serious dispute at Ebenezer in Georgia (1774-1775). In both cases Mühlenberg was the guiding spirit in smoothing out what seemed to be impossible situations. While arbitrating the latter case, Mühlenberg in addition took an inventory of all the Lutheran church properties in the colony of Georgia, examining the deeds to make sure that the Established Church might not lay claim to the property. He also preached in all five of the Georgia churches and drew up a discipline for their government.

Our information regarding these difficult early years in America is mainly from a large collection of reports and letters, sent to the Lutheran ministerium of Halle by Lutheran ministers in America. They are called the *Hallesche Nachrichten*—the Halle Reports. Most instructive of all are Mühlenberg's own reports, which give us a remarkably accurate and realistic picture of the times, though of course from the ministerial point of view. They reveal not only the widespread influence exercised by Mühlenberg, but his constant activity as well. Even a bare catalogue of his travels would occupy more space than can be given here. He made many visits to the New Jersey churches; he went on a missionary tour into Maryland; he visited the congregations on the Hudson; he was in New York six different times for longer or shorter periods; he established schools and encouraged education. In short, besides

his labors as a minister and spiritual adviser, he was a diplomatist, a man of affairs, and a frontiersman. He endured untold discomforts, bodily fatigue, and hardships, while adventure and hairbreadth escapes were common occurrences, in his earlier American experiences particularly.

Mühlenberg early determined to make America his permanent home. Perhaps the meeting of Anna Mary Weiser, the daughter of J. Conrad Weiser, the famous Indian agent, on his visit to Tulpehocken in 1743 had something to do with that determination. In 1745, at eighteen years of age, she became his wife, and eventually the mother of his eleven children. Of his six sons the three eldest were sent to Halle to complete their education. All of them became ministers in the Lutheran church, besides winning distinction in other fields as well. The eldest, John Peter Gabriel, became one of Washington's most trusted Brigadier Generals in the Revolution; Frederick Augustus Conrad, the second son, became the first speaker of the federal House of Representatives; the third son, Gotthelf Henry Ernest, besides becoming the first president of Franklin College, gained wide distinction as a botanist. Of the five daughters, two became the wives of Lutheran ministers.

Perhaps the greatest single accomplishment in the career of Henry M. Mühlenberg was his leadership in the formation of the first Lutheran Synod in America. By 1748 notable progress had been made under Mühlenberg's leadership. His reports to Halle had brought reinforcements in both men and money. New churches had been built at Providence, Tulpehocken, and Philadelphia, and at New Hanover a schoolhouse had been erected. Calls for pastors were coming from numerous communities. Tulpehocken

and Northkill were asking that one of the Halle recruits, J. N. Kurtz, be ordained as their minister. These were the considerations which led to the calling of the Lutheran ministers and lay representatives of the congregations together in Philadelphia in August, 1748. Six ministers were present and twenty-four laymen, representing ten congregations. Mühlenberg was chosen to preside. At the meetings Pastor Kurtz was examined and ordained, and a common liturgy was adopted; the laymen reported upon the condition of the parochial schools and the effectiveness of their pastors. On August 14 St. Michael's Church was dedicated.

The name adopted for this first Lutheran Synod in America was the *United Pastors*, and as Professor Wentz has pointed out, its organization was the first step in the direction of independence for American Lutheranism. "A twisted cord of many threads will not easily break," Mühlenberg had urged as one of the reasons for their coming together. This proved to be true of United American Lutheranism in the trying years ahead, as the new organization faced the problems created by the flood of German immigration sweeping into the country. By 1771 there were seventy Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania and adjoining provinces, and thirty in other sections of the colonies.

By the opening of the Revolution Mühlenberg's leadership had reached its zenith, and in 1776 he and his family took up residence at Providence in Montgomery County. Here he spent his declining years, universally loved and respected. In 1784 the University of Pennsylvania conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity upon him, an

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honor richly deserved, though he requested all his friends to ignore his new title in their intercourse with him.

Henry M. Mühlberg represented that type of leadership most needed in the pioneer stage of religious development. He believed that order was the *sine qua non* of all human relations, and in a period of confusion and utmost disorder he contributed that most needed element.

CHAPTER II

APOSTLES OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

One of the results of the Reformation was the rise of new national churches in all those nations in western Europe in which Protestantism had gained the upper hand. Thus in England, Holland, the German states, and in the Scandinavian countries national churches emerged, all of them with a definite relationship to the state. These churches were, generally speaking, as intolerant of Roman Catholicism as Roman Catholicism was intolerant of them. But there had also arisen out of the Reformation other religious bodies, most of them humble and despised, whose primary emphasis was to revive primitive Christianity in all its forms—in life, in worship, in polity, and in the relation of church and state. These humble religious groups had small opportunity in the homelands of carrying out their complete program of religious reform, especially that part of it which concerned the relationship of church and state, since every country in western Europe had an established church, either Catholic or Protestant. Moreover, it was everywhere thought that national safety depended largely upon religious uniformity, an idea as strongly held among Protestants as among Catholics, and both Protestant and Catholic nations sought to maintain this principle through executions, confiscations, and banishment.

Hence the little sects such as the Anabaptists and the Quakers which had arisen, maintaining the principle of re-

ligious liberty and the separation of church and state, had little chance in Europe of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But their opportunity came with the establishment of colonies in America. Here, even though in nine of the colonies there were churches established by law, the opportunity of achieving religious liberty was far greater than in the homelands. Some of the factors working toward this happy end will be brought out in our discussion of three of the great leaders who well deserve to be called the first apostles of religious liberty.

THE LORDS BALTIMORE

During the reigns of Queens Elizabeth and the first two Stuarts, James I and Charles I, English Catholics were completely outlawed in England. They could not hold office either in church or state, they could not receive a university degree, and they were required to renounce the Pope and acknowledge the headship of the English monarch in ecclesiastical affairs. They could not attend a Catholic mass, and they were not permitted to stay away from the regular services of the Established Church. The penalty for disobeying these laws varied all the way from small fines to the most severe punishment for treason, which in numerous cases was death. As the conflict became more and more embittered these laws tended to become more and more severe. A Toleration Act was passed by Parliament in 1689 which made the burdens of other nonconformists somewhat easier, but Catholics remained under these terrible disabilities until well along in the eighteenth century and the restrictions against them did not wholly disappear until 1829. .

As a matter of fact, however, the English Catholics were

never compelled to suffer as much as the severity of the laws against them might seem to indicate for the reason that they were generally of the wealthier classes, and through their wealth and influence they found ways and means of getting around the laws. Then, too, the Catholic policy of the first two Stuart kings showed little consistency, "reflecting the varying inclinations of the king and changing exigencies of external and internal politics." The story of Lord Baltimore and the founding of the colony of Maryland is an example of this inconsistent Catholic policy.

George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, was a native of Yorkshire, born about the year 1580. His father was a country gentleman, his mother a lady of gentle birth. Entering Trinity College, Oxford, at fourteen, he was graduated with the bachelor's degree in 1597. He was particularly adept in the languages and either at college or soon afterward acquired familiarity with French, Italian, and Spanish, knowledge which he later turned to good use in his political and diplomatic career. After leaving college he made the "grand tour" of Europe and there is a surmise that on this tour he met Sir Robert Cecil whom Queen Elizabeth had sent on a special embassy to France. Anyhow we know that Sir Robert Cecil early became his stanch friend and it is upon his friendship that the career of Calvert was largely founded.

Early in the reign of King James I, Calvert was elected to a seat in Parliament from a borough in Cornwall, and at about the same time married a young lady of Hertfordshire, Anne Mynne, the daughter of a country gentleman. When in 1605 the King paid a visit to Oxford, in honor of the occasion the degree of Master of Arts was bestowed upon a number of distinguished gentlemen, among

them George Calvert. About this same time he became the private secretary of Sir Robert Cecil and for the next twenty years his political fortunes steadily advanced. His connection with Ireland began with his appointment by the King as Clerk of the Crown and Assizes in County Clare, a connection which was later to be crowned by his elevation to the Irish peerage as the first Lord Baltimore. The death of Robert Cecil occurred in 1612, but by this time Calvert had so well established his worth as a public servant that the removal of his powerful patron did not deter his continued advancement. In 1613 he became clerk of the Privy Council and a member of an important Irish commission. The reports of these commissions would indicate that at this time Calvert had no Catholic sympathies, for the reports speak with emphasis concerning the Jesuit influence in fomenting discontent in the kingdom. In the year 1617 Calvert was knighted and two years later was made principal Secretary of State. This latter office made him a member of the Privy Council.

Calvert was undoubtedly a most valuable official. Possessing few if any qualities which make for greatness, he had those traits which constitute large usefulness and true worth. He was always prudent and tactful, and tireless in his industry. He is described by the French ambassador as "an honorable, sensible, well-minded man, courteous toward strangers, full of respect toward ambassadors, zealously intent upon the welfare of England, but by reason of all these good qualities, entirely without consideration and importance." We may judge of his qualities of manhood by the fact that at a time when the morals of the court were at low ebb, he stood for clean and high standards.

Just at the end of the reign of James I, Calvert lost his seat in Parliament for Yorkshire, but was returned as one of the members from the University of Oxford. In the growing contest between King and Parliament he was consistently loyal to the King. It was during these years, also, for reasons not clear, that he became anxious to retire from public life. Evidently influences of one sort or another had been exerted upon him to accept Catholicism, but just what was the nature of these influences we do not know. Having openly accepted Catholicism he resigned his Secretaryship in February, 1625. The King accepted his resignation with regret and as a mark of special favor, retained him as a Privy Councilor and created him Baron of Baltimore in the kingdom of Ireland. Previously (1621) the King had granted him a great estate of more than two thousand acres in Ireland and also, in 1623, a charter to a part of the great island of Newfoundland.

Interest in colonization was widespread among English officials and courtiers of the Stuart period, and Calvert, now Lord Baltimore, shared this interest. He had become a member of the Virginia Company in 1609, and in 1622 was made a member of the Council of the New England Company. Now, released from his official duties, Calvert entered upon colonization schemes with renewed interest. His Newfoundland or Avalon Charter made him the proprietor of a county palatinate, thus giving him political authority as well as ownership of the province. He had already planted a small colony in the island, when in 1627 he sailed for Newfoundland. The condition of the colony, the generally inhospitable climate and the poor soil greatly disappointed him. Returning to England Calvert made plans to return to Newfoundland the following

summer (1628), taking with him his entire family except his eldest son Cecelius, who remained to look after the Irish estates. The result of this second visit convinced Lord Baltimore that Newfoundland was unsuitable for his purpose and he determined to abandon it. Writing to the King of his discouragement and his determination to abandon Newfoundland, he asked for a grant in the more hospitable domain of Virginia. In his reply the King discouraged his friend from further attempts at colonization, at the same time expressing appreciation of his efforts in that direction. But before the King's letter was received Baltimore was off for Virginia.

Upon arrival (October, 1629) Baltimore found himself coldly received by the Virginia authorities who demanded that he take both the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. These he offered to take in a modified form, but this offer was refused. Leaving his wife and family in Virginia, Baltimore hastened to England to seek a new grant from the King. Not wishing to be in conflict with the Virginia colony Baltimore asked for territory lying north of Virginia, and this the King finally granted. As a matter of fact George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, died (April 15, 1632) before the charter passed the seal, and the charter was actually issued to Cecelius, second Lord Baltimore, who thus became the first proprietor of Maryland.

Though George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, was responsible for the establishment of the proprietary colony of Maryland and lay down the general lines along which it was founded, the actual work of putting these principles into operation was performed by Cecelius, second Lord Baltimore. Cecelius was born in 1606 and was named for Sir Robert Cecil, to whom his father owed his advance-

ment. Like his father he attended Trinity College, Oxford, though there is no record of his graduation. He married Lady Anne Arundel, the beautiful daughter of Lord Arundel, one of the English noblemen who remained loyal to Roman Catholicism. Some have thought his son's marriage into this influential Catholic family had something to do with the Baltimore conversion to the faith, but as a matter of fact the marriage did not take place until four years after the conversion.

Cecelius was evidently imbued with his father's lofty principles as far as religious toleration was concerned. Both father and son knew well enough that in order to make their great colonizing scheme a success religious toleration must be offered as an inducement to colonists. Although they hoped that Maryland would prove a refuge for persecuted Catholics, they were certainly well aware of the fact that few English Catholics could be induced to migrate, since they belonged generally to the landed gentry in England. To populate their colony they were therefore dependent upon other groups and these they invited to come.

The instructions given by the second Lord Baltimore to his brother Leonard, the Governor, and the commissioners in charge of the first colonizing expeditions to Maryland in 1633, clearly indicate this fact. He required them "to preserve unity and peace amongst all the passengers on shipboard, and that they suffer no scandall nor offence to be given to any of the Protestants, whereby any just complaint may hereafter be made by them, in Virginia or in England." He further asks that all "Acts of Romane Catholique Religion" be performed as privately as possible and that they instruct all "roman Catholiques to be silent upon all occasions of discourse concerning matters of

religion." The Protestants were to be treated with as much mildness and favor as justice would permit. The entire letter is indisputable evidence of the wise and statesmanlike attitude of the first proprietor of Maryland, then but a young man of twenty-seven. It was undoubtedly his settled policy that religious toleration and liberty of conscience should be firmly established and maintained in the colony. A proclamation prohibiting religious disputes was issued soon after the establishment of the colony, and the records show but two instances of infraction of these instructions. In both cases the offenders were Catholics and each was assessed a fine of 500 pounds of tobacco, and in the latter case the sum was to be applied to the support of the first Protestant minister to come to the colony.

The Proprietor's attempt to curb the Jesuits in the colony is further evidence that he was fully aware of the necessity of maintaining control of the religious situation. The Jesuits, he found, had secretly secured Indian lands within the territory defined by his patent. This Lord Baltimore considered a challenge to his authority and chartered rights, and he at once took steps to protect his interests against his own coreligionists by forcing through the Maryland Assembly the Toleration Act of 1649, which was a part of his plan to defeat the Jesuits and save his authority. As a matter of fact religious toleration in Maryland was not established by the Toleration Act; rather, the principle of religious freedom had been observed from the beginning of the colony.

It is impossible of course to determine just where principle begins and policy ends in Lord Baltimore's great experiment of introducing religious liberty in Maryland. There can be no doubt that both father and son reacted

strongly against harshness. It has been suggested that the father's experience in forcing a hated religion upon the Irish people may have caused a feeling of revulsion against an established religion or any attempt to compel conformity. There were numerous individuals both in England and on the Continent at this time who were beginning to hold advanced doctrines on religious toleration, though in no instance were any of them speaking for the churches of which they were members. No doubt the first Lord Baltimore was familiar with Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, in which religious liberty and freedom of conscience prevailed, for we know that after his conversion to Catholicism, Father Henry More, an English Jesuit and a great-grandson of Sir Thomas, was Baltimore's spiritual counselor. But whatever may have been the source of their liberal spirit, it seems certain that both father and son had evolved very definite principles concerning religious freedom for which they were willing to stand, in a time when such ideas were considered not only dangerous to the state but even traitorous.

ROGER WILLIAMS

A recent interpreter of American thought has characterized Roger Williams as "the one original thinker" among the numerous capable social architects to be found among the first generation of New England's leaders. Cotton Mather called him the "*first rebel* amongst the divine *church-order* established in the wilderness." Both characterizations are correct. To his Puritan contemporaries he seemed one possessed of "windy fancies" and preached "offensive and disturbant doctrines."

To a very large degree religious liberty, or at least religious toleration had come to prevail in America by the

end of the colonial period. But this happy achievement had come about mostly as a result of circumstances rather than because of any deliberate theory propounded and urged by colonial political or religious leaders. Diversity of belief, the necessity of attracting settlers to the great proprietary grants, and the fact that the population came to be largely an unchurched population, all were powerful factors in bringing it about. There were few colonials contending for religious liberty on the basis of principle. Roger Williams is one of two or three inspiring exceptions, and his colony of Rhode Island the only one to be established on the theory of the complete separation of church and state. In fact it was the first civil government in the world to achieve complete religious liberty.

Roger Williams has divided historians into two groups, those who have distorted his life and thought in order to justify the New England theocracy in their harsh treatment of him, and those who have perhaps over-idealized him and have succeeded in burying the real Williams under their fulsome encomiums. It has only been within the last few years that anything like an adequate life of Roger Williams has appeared. In fact until recently even the place of his birth was in doubt and little of his English background was known.

Roger Williams was born in London the year Queen Elizabeth died (1603). His parents were of the well-to-do middle class. His father, a member of the oldest trade guild in Europe, "The Merchant Taylors Company of London," was a citizen and a freeman. He carried on his trade in the front of his dwelling house just outside Newgate, then a new and fashionable part of the city. His mother, Alice Pemberton, belonged to an influential

family of the time and was the owner of the "Harrow," a well-known inn located near the Williams dwelling. Thus young Williams was no poor, obscure London youth, but one related to genteel families, especially on his mother's side, and by birth and training belonging to the upper stratum of English middle class society. He grew up at a time of increasing unemployment among weavers and skilled workers and of mounting political and religious unrest, when the discontent thus produced was constantly feeding the Puritan movement.

His religious interest was stirred as a boy of eleven and even at that early age he manifested a tendency toward puritanism, to the displeasure of his father and mother who were members of St. Sepulchre's parish church. At fourteen he received a legacy, which may have been the occasion of his aroused interest in legal matters and of his learning shorthand. His skill in the use of shorthand in taking down legal speeches in the Star Chamber in Westminster Hall brought him to the attention of Sir Edward Coke, already famous as an authority in English law and destined to become the leading figure in the defense of Parliament against the claims of the royalists. Sir Edward now became young Williams' patron and secured for him an appointment to Charter House School (1621), of which he was legal adviser and one of the governors. Two years later Williams was registered as a pensioner at Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he received his bachelor's degree in 1627.

On leaving Cambridge Williams became chaplain to Sir William Masham at his beautiful country estate in Essex. In this atmosphere he doubtless felt at home, for the Mashams were Puritans and on intimate terms with the

leading Puritans of the day. In fact both Robert and William Masham were members of Parliament. Williams was indiscreet enough to fall in love with the niece of Lady Barrington, Mrs. Masham's mother, and in spite of the opposition of his own mother and Lady Barrington, the ardent young chaplain offered her his heart. He was evidently rejected on the grounds of his lower social rank, which may have influenced him in favor of democracy and people's sovereignty. That the wound was not deep however may be judged from the fact that he soon found consolation and requited love in Mary Barnard, the maid of one of Mrs. Masham's daughters, who had nursed him through a severe illness. In 1629 she became Mrs. Roger Williams and his presumption in seeking the hand of one of the great family was forgiven.

In 1629 Williams attended a meeting of the Massachusetts Bay Company in Sempringham, where he met some of the leading Puritans of the time, among them John Cotton and Thomas Hooker. He had by this time become a radical separatist and his intimate relationship with the "Popular party" brought him to the attention of Bishop Laud. In order to escape persecution and possible torture Williams now decided to flee to America, where so many others had already gone.

Setting sail from Bristol on December 1, 1630, Roger Williams and his wife faced the many perils of a winter voyage and landed at Nantasket on February 5, 1631. It was a frozen land to which they had come. That day Governor Winthrop recorded in his Journal:

The ship *Lyon*, Mr. William Pierce, master, arrived at Nantasket. She brought Mr. Williams, a godly minister, with his wife, Mr. Throckmorton, Perkins, and others with

their wives and children, about twenty passengers and about two hundred tons of goods. . . .

The young minister was welcomed with marked attention. Before leaving the mother country Williams had received a call from New England and was evidently expected to succeed Mr. John Wilson of the Boston Church who was about to return to England. The call was extended, but he refused it. His refusal was shock number one to the Boston leaders. Why had he refused so attractive an opportunity? Because he had become a rigid separatist and the Boston Church had not separated itself from the Church of England. He also denied the right of the magistrates to punish any infraction of the commandments which prescribe the duties between man and God, and he stood firmly for the separation of the church and civil state. Thus he placed himself on record from the very start as opposed to the fundamental ideas upon which the Massachusetts Bay Colony was founded. The magistrates and the elders were in a dilemma. They wanted to treat Williams with consideration, if not for his own sake, at least for the sake of the support of his powerful friends in England, but to allow him to preach would threaten the very existence of the Holy Commonwealth for which they had sacrificed so much.

There now came a call to Williams to the office of teacher of the Salem Church, to the great alarm of the Boston magistrates, who hurried to send their protest to the Salem brethren. The Salem Church was entirely too independent to suit the Boston leaders, and Salem for her part was considerably irked at the Boston assumption of leadership in the colony. Mr. Higginson, the teacher of the Salem

Church, had died a month after Williams arrived, and Mr. Skelton, the minister, like Williams, was a rigid separatist. Thus the Salem Church was sympathetic with Williams' position, hence his installation as the teacher at Salem. The General Court now got busy; Salem's independence was reduced and Roger Williams in the autumn took refuge at Plymouth.

Here for two years Williams resided and was accepted as a sort of assistant to Mr. Ralph Smith, the minister, though he held no office and received no pay. The Plymouth colony, however, furnished him with a house and farm land, and here he learned to run a farm, and more important, he made contacts with the neighboring Indians, learning their "Rockie speech" and carrying on trade with them. He visited them in their villages and wigwams and so became the first New England Indian missionary. It was his contact with the Indians in the vicinity of Plymouth which led him to dispute the right of the colonists to their land on the basis of the royal patents. He soon learned that the Plymouth Church was also "an unseparated people" and as was his wont he spoke out against it, and denounced as well the idea of an autocratic state. This action led to disputes and bickering and when in the summer of 1633 a second offer of the teachership at Salem came he gladly accepted it, and in the autumn of that year we find him with his family once more in the Bay Colony. But his stay was not for long.

Hardly had Williams and his family established themselves in their Salem home before the Boston authorities brought charges against him on the ground that while at Plymouth he had written a treatise denying that the royal patent gave the Puritans title to their lands, declaring that

King James had lied when he stated in the patent that he was the first Christian prince to discover New England, and that it was blasphemy to call Europe Christian. It was also charged that he had called Charles I the Beast of Revelation. These charges were finally dropped, because of the fact, perhaps, that the Massachusetts authorities agreed, in some measure, with them, though as John Cotton suggested they were not "boisterous" about it. In August, 1634, Mr. Skelton died and the Salem Church desired that Mr. Williams succeed him, but the General Court advised against his ordination and to avoid trouble Williams consented to act as their pastor and teacher without official installation. In April, 1635, in spite of the Bay authorities Williams was chosen teacher of the Salem Church.

We must not suppose that Williams was the only "factious" person in the colony; in fact, we may well believe that those who opposed the harsh intolerance of the Bay Colony leaders were relatively numerous, though few were willing to risk what was necessary to give expression to their opposition.

The year 1635 was a stormy one both for the Salem Church and its newly chosen teacher, for the conflict between them and the Bay authorities grew steadily more bitter. Williams opposed the tax imposed upon every man for the support of public worship, and compulsory church attendance; he refused to take a new oath imposed by the magistrates and indeed denied the right of the General Court to impose oaths or to legislate for the church. Williams was summoned to appear at the July term of the General Court where four charges were laid against him, but time was allowed for him and the Salem Church

to consider these charges until the next General Court. Meanwhile Salem was seeking additional land, which they claimed rightly belonged to them. This claim, however, was rejected by the General Court on the ground that they had disobeyed the authorities in choosing Williams their teacher.

The continual controversy and the numerous public and private disputes finally broke Williams' health. The Salem Church, too, began to waver in their support of him, the promise of the coveted land and other favors finally breaking down their resistance completely. Williams now decided that the time had come for him to carry out his rigid separatist ideas and he refused to hold communion with the Bay Church. The Salem Church, however, held communion with them and accepted the coveted neck of land. Thereupon Williams withdrew from the Salem Church and at the same time renounced communion with all the New England churches. This was the last straw for the General Court and Williams was summoned to appear before them in October. The Court met in Newtown. Here in the little frame church with its bare interior and dirt floor the trial was held. No one dared to defend him and Williams was his own attorney, one dauntless man against fifty of the ablest New England could produce.

The outcome was never in doubt for a moment, though for two days the General Court labored to convince him of his errors. No specific charges were actually lodged against him, but the following particulars formed the basis of their action. He denied the right of the colony to their land by royal patent since the Indians were the actual owners of it; he held it unlawful to hear any of the minis-

ters of the parish churches of England; he would admit that the civil magistrates' power extended only to the bodies and goods of men.

But there were numerous other counts which the authorities might have brought against him, for during his five years' residence in New England he had clashed with them on more than a dozen questions of major importance to the theocracy. Their main differences were first on church polity, Williams being a rigid separatist, while the Bay leaders were non-separatist; the colony stood for a union of church and state, with the church in actual control, Williams insisted on a complete separation of state and church; Williams upheld the sovereignty of the people, the magistrates stood for a theocracy and oligarchy. But even these radical differences would not have led to his banishment had Williams been willing to apologize publicly, but this he steadfastly refused to do and like Martin Luther at Worms he might have said, "Here I stand, I can do no otherwise: God help me. Amen." It was Master John Cotton, who had become his principal antagonist, who said that it was for such obstinacy that Williams was banished. Speaking of the men who were responsible for his banishment, Williams later said, "I did ever from my soul honor and love them, even when their judgement led them to afflict me."

When the decree of banishment had been passed against him, Williams was given the liberty of remaining at Salem till spring, but he had been warned not "to draw others to his opinion." But how could that be hindered? People came to his house and there private services were held, and Williams knew that this would sooner or later send him into exile. The authorities were not long in hearing of

it and on January 7, 1636, the Governor and his assistants agreed that Williams should be sent out of the colony at once. The plea that Williams was a sick man was of no avail; his presence was too dangerous to the safety of the colony. A pinnace was sent with fourteen men to seize the dangerous radical, but the weather was stormy and the sea rough, and four days were consumed in reaching Salem. When Captain Underhill and his men knocked at the door of the Williams home they found he had been gone three days, but where no one knew. His wife and children were left behind, a mortgage having been placed on his home to meet the expense of the exile.

How Williams made his way from Salem to Narragansett Bay in the face of that New England winter with snow up to his knees and swift rivers to wade, unable to find even an Indian who might afford him "fire or harbor," we do not know. Later writing of this terrible experience he felt that it should be seriously reviewed by all men how he had been denied even the common air to breathe and a civil cohabitation and without mercy and human compassion exposed to "a winter's miseries in a howling wilderness of frost and snow." For fourteen weeks he wandered without knowing "what bread or bed did mean." Fortunately he had kept his contacts with the powerful Narragansett Indians, and being able to speak with them in their own language, came to be trusted and honored by them. Arriving in their country he found them on the verge of a war with Massasoit and the Plymouth Indians. This Williams was able to prevent and a treaty was secured. In gratitude for this service the Indians afforded him shelter, food, and clothing, and a grant of land was made to him.

And it was here that Williams began his colony as a shelter "for the poor and persecuted."

The remainder of Williams' life is chiefly important in so far as he was able to put into operation in the colony of Rhode Island the great principles of which he had become the protagonist.

It was not long until a considerable number of followers found their way to Providence, which Williams had founded in the summer of 1636. Shortly thereafter much of the lands was reconveyed to his companions. In a deed of 1661 Williams thus states his purpose in founding his colony:

I desired it might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience. I then considering the conditions of divers of my distressed countrymen, I communicated my said purchase unto my loving friends . . . who then desired to take refuge with me.

The colony of Rhode Island was eventually made up of three groups, the first being Williams' Providence Plantation. A second group comprised those exiled from Massachusetts with Anne Hutchinson and her followers who settled what is now Portsmouth and Newport. Most important among this group was Dr. John Clarke, a Baptist preacher, who became associated with Roger Williams in the government of the united colonies. A third group, led by a well-educated but combative individual, Samuel Groton, founded a colony on the west shore of Narragansett Bay to which was given the name Warwick. These colonies were without legal standing, for they had as yet no charter from any English authority. Williams and his associates had adopted a "plantation covenant" in 1641 in

which they agreed to abide by the will of a majority, but "only in civil things." A few years later when the General Court of Massachusetts laid claim to the territory occupied by the Narragansett colonies Roger Williams was dispatched to England (1643) to obtain a charter. The same year the New England Confederation had been organized leaving out Rhode Island, and numerous dangers were threatening the Narragansett settlements.

Massachusetts Bay refused to permit Williams to take ship from Boston, an act which compelled him to leave by the Dutch port of New Amsterdam. Arriving in London he soon made contacts with his old friends and through their influence Parliament granted "a fee charter of civil incorporation and government" to the Providence Plantations on March 14, 1644. The charter recognized the ownership of the land through purchase from the Indians, it approved the political principles of Williams, and made no mention of religion. During his year in England he was a guest part of the time, at least, under the hospitable roof of Sir Henry Vane whose friendship he had won in the Bay Colony.

From the time of his return to Providence in the autumn of 1644 to the spring of 1647 Williams was the chief officer of the colony. On May 18, 1647, the first meeting of the General Court was held, when the charter was adopted and civil government organized. But the political affairs of the colony were by no means settled. In 1651 William Coddington, who had been one of Anne Hutchinson's supporters, succeeded in having the charter of 1644 set aside as far as Newport was concerned, and had obtained a new patent with himself as governor in perpetuity. This so alarmed the Providence leaders as well as some

of the residents of Newport that it was decided that John Clarke and Roger Williams should be sent to England to secure the repeal of Coddington's patent and to have the charter of 1644 confirmed.

The mission was completely successful and Williams returned to the colony in June, 1654, with orders from the Lord Protector Cromwell and the Council of State canceling Coddington's patent and reinstating the charter of 1644. Clarke however remained in England until 1664 when he returned with a royal charter for Rhode Island embodying the principles advocated by Roger Williams. The charter provided for separation of church and state, and required no church-membership qualification of voters. Rhode Island continued to be the safe refuge for all who demanded freedom of worship. Of all those who came into Rhode Island Williams was most hostile to the Quakers because he believed their doctrines false and dangerous, but he refused to persecute them, though the most unfair book he ever wrote was a bitter attack on the Quakers entitled *George Fox Digged out of his Burrows*.

Of Roger Williams' controversies that with John Cotton is most important. It began almost from the moment of Cotton's landing in America, and was continued until Cotton's death in 1652. After 1636 it was carried on in a series of pamphlets, and it was through this medium that Williams most fully set forth his position on soul liberty and the separation of church and state. It was while on his first visit to England in 1643 that Williams saw a treatise by Cotton answering the arguments advanced by a prisoner of Newgate prison against persecution for conscience. Though busily engaged in obtaining the charter he undertook to answer Cotton and the result was

The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution. It was in this treatise that he set forth most clearly his idea of the correct relationship of religion to the state. To this Cotton replied in the *Bloudy Tenent washed and made white in the blood of the Lamb*, etc. (1647) which Williams answered in *The Bloudy Tenent yet more Bloudy* (1652).

Roger Williams' relation to the church after he took up his abode in Providence has been much misunderstood. The Baptists have called him the father of their denomination in America. But this claim can hardly stand in the light of recent investigations by Baptist historians. It has now been well established that Roger Williams and those who constituted the first church at Providence in 1638, though rebaptized, were not immersed. Moreover from this group Williams later withdrew, holding that no true church was possible until it was reconstituted by divine authority; since the church was so corrupt there could "be no recovery out of that apostacy until Christ shall send forth new apostles to plant churches anew." But he continued to preach until near the end and the last labor of his life was the collecting and editing of the sermons of these later years.

Roger Williams lived strenuously. At forty-eight he was stooped and gray, showing the effects of pioneering. To make a living for himself and his family he worked in the fields, established trading posts, dealt in land and opened up new regions to settlement. He was a lover of peace and served as peacemaker on more than one occasion, both between groups of Indians and between the Indians and the colonists. But when finally King Philip's War broke out in spite of all Williams could do to prevent it, Captain Roger Williams of the Train Band of

Providence, although over seventy years of age, was in it. He could fight with the sword as well as with the pen. But he did not cease to be a friend of the Indians, any more than he had ceased to love the Bay magistrates after they had forced him into exile. In fact he and John Winthrop kept up a correspondence throughout their lives.

When in 1672 Governor Winthrop's wife, Elizabeth, died Williams wrote to his long-time friend:

Sir I constantly think of you, and send up one remembrance to heaven for you, and a groan for myself, when I pass Elizabeth's Spring. Here is the spring say I (with a sigh) but where is Elizabeth? My charity answers, she is gone to the eternal spring and fountain of living waters.

In 1683 Roger Williams died, leaving to his wife and his six children a rich heritage of noble deeds.

Speaking in 1904 at the Commencement of Brown University James Bryce thus fitly characterized Roger Williams:

Roger Williams was not a great thinker, or perhaps what we may call very original. He was tenacious, resolute, and fearless, as have been other men. What distinguishes him is that he grasped his principle and applied it in the colony without destroying all government. He was a sweet soul: he was unselfish, tender, generous. Everybody liked him; even the Puritans of the Bay State who banished him, thought him a "dear fellow," and that makes him an almost unique figure among stern, severe men. . . . Weak things have confounded the strong and the meekness of Roger Williams has inherited the earth. . . . Great is he who if not the discoverer of a new principle, can live it and guide others. He received the truth, he lived in it and applied it with sincerity, correctness and faith. That is the greatness of Roger Williams.

WILLIAM PENN

Oliver Cromwell once remarked that "one never goes so far as when he does not know where he is going." Seventeenth century England did not know where she was going. The whole country was full of men and women who were dissatisfied with church and state and indeed almost every institution was under criticism. Such an atmosphere always exercises a quickening influence upon the minds of men, and thousands, at this period, were on tip-toe, expecting old things to pass away and everything to be made new. It was in such an atmosphere of religious and political unrest and general expectancy that Quakerism was born. Even before George Fox began to preach his new reformation, many of his first followers had already reached their own peculiar religious positions. They, like Fox, were believers in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, but were dissatisfied with the religious teachings and practices of the churches and were longing for a higher spiritual life.

George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, was a shy, retiring, meditative youth with a decided religious bent. Though having little education, he was nevertheless intelligent and endowed with real mental gifts and with a capacity for understanding questions of spiritual and religious import. A diligent reader of the Bible, he became distressed at the contrast between the simple religion of the Gospels and the system of theology he heard preached from the pulpits. Distress of mind drove him from home and after a year of wandering, trying to find wise guides, he came at last to a final conclusion that the church as it then stood was a hopeless institution. With this idea

firmly established in his mind it was not long until he had made contacts with others who had come to hold much the same view. Talking with these dissatisfied and disillusioned friends and brooding over what he had read in the Bible he finally was convinced by his own experience, and by the testimony of others, that there is a seed of God in every soul, and that the church as it existed in England was of no use in developing the religious capacity inherent in every man. Propagating these ideas at first alone, he was soon joined by others and by 1652 Swarthmoor Hall in the Lake country became the rallying point of a rapidly expanding movement.

The missionary activity of the early Friends is most astonishing and has only been equaled in modern times by the Moravians and the Jesuits. By 1654 the Quaker movement had spread throughout the British Isles, and by 1660 the Quaker gospel had been carried to various parts of Europe and Asia, to the West Indies and to the American colonies. "No one was too high to be spoken to, and no one too low to be considered." The Pope was visited in Rome, to the Sultan of Turkey came Quaker emissaries, the slaves and the Indians were not overlooked. We have a picture of George Fox in 1656, clad in his white leather suit, no longer a shy and backward youth, but now as bold as a lion, spying Oliver Cromwell in his coach in Hyde Park. He rides "uppe to his coach side" and when the guards try to put him away Cromwell forbids them, and Fox says, "I ridd doune by his coach side with him declareinge what ye Lord gave mee to say unto him of his condition of ye sufferinges of freindes in ye nation: & how contrary to Christ this persecution was & to ye Apostles & Christianity: & so I rid by his coach till we came to James

parke gate & he desired me to come to his house." It was such bold and fearless propaganda which was responsible for winning not only thousands of the humble and lowly to Quakerism, but likewise a considerable number from among the upper classes. Among the earliest converts of the latter class was Margaret Fell, the wife of Judge Fell, mistress of Swarthmoor Hall, who became one of the most important and influential members of the early Quaker group. And in 1667 William Penn, the son of Admiral William Penn, was "convinced," and from that time to the end of his busy life his principal interest was in spreading the new Reformation.

William Penn was London born (October 16, 1644). His father, later to become Sir William Penn, and Vice-Admiral of England, was a sailor, and endlessly away from home. In 1654 when his son and namesake was ten years of age Admiral Penn was appointed to command the fleet against the Spaniards in the West Indies, an engagement out of which came the English conquest of Jamaica. Under the circumstances young William Penn was largely raised by his mother, Margaret Jasper, the daughter of an English Rotterdam merchant and the widow of a Dutchman, who had later moved to Ireland. She is described by Pepys as short, plump, good-looking and freehanded, fond of a frolic, and remarkably untidy. Young William, developing a case of smallpox, from which he suffered no harm, except the temporary loss of his hair, caused the family to move to the country where he was sent to a good school. Admiral Penn came home from the West Indies in disgrace and after a period of imprisonment in the Tower, was dismissed from the service and the Penns, making the best of a bad situation, left for County Cork in Ire-

land, where Cromwell had previously granted the Admiral large estates. This was in 1656, when young William was twelve years of age and "ripe for a religious crisis."

Two years before the Penns took up their residence in Ireland the first Irish Quaker meeting had been established. Among the Quaker preachers who visited Ireland was Thomas Loe who, being in the neighborhood of Cork, was invited by the Admiral to visit the Penn estate. Here Loe preached with evident effect—for even the Admiral was moved and tears were noticed running down his "bluff, comely face." But no one imagined then that any of the Penns would embrace the novel doctrines.

Soon came a change in the Penns' fortune. Richard Cromwell's futile rule came to an end, and Charles II was restored. It was lucky that Admiral Penn was just at that time out of the good graces of the Protectorate, for it made it easier for him to win favor at court. He was restored to his old position at the Navy office, and young William entered Christ Church College, Oxford.

The seed planted in young William Penn's mind by the Quaker evangelist Thomas Loe in Ireland seemed to be sprouting when the young man at Oxford began to rebel against the ritualistic practices there. A group of which young Penn was one began to hold private religious meetings, and absented themselves from the chapel, and even rode out to the house of a known Puritan, Dr. Owen. For this Penn was disciplined, and the Admiral admonished him to mend his ways. But evidently these efforts at discipline were of no avail and he was expelled from Oxford, for just what specific acts we do not know. We do know it had to do with religion. He returned home to face the rage of his bluff but soft-hearted father who beat him and turned him

out of doors. But the Admiral's rage soon cooled, and still hopeful of curing his son he sent him abroad for travel and study. That he used these two years abroad to advantage Penn's later ability to answer his critics and plead the cause of Quakerism testify.

Summoned home by his father in 1664 because of the impending war between England and Holland, he was sent to Ireland in 1666 to settle a dispute over the possession of a new Irish estate which had been granted his father by Charles II. A second trip to Ireland was made in 1667 and this time he again heard Thomas Loe and "it was Thomas Loe who led him gently to the final stage and made him a Quaker." Once having made up his mind, Penn joined the Quakers and "no living man, not even his father, could turn him from his purpose." His conversion took place during an interval of suspended persecution of dissenters, and Penn began at once to preach and travel as an evangelist in the neighboring counties.

By the time of Penn's "convincement" Quakerism had already become a powerful movement, but as yet there was little Quaker literature which could "invite the attention of polite or learned readers." Help in meeting this lack was one of Penn's chief contributions and beginning in 1668 a veritable stream of pamphlets came from his pen, though he was by no means the greatest expounder of Quakerism. His first notable production was *The Sandy Foundation*, an attack upon the views of the Church of England and a vigorous exposition of Quaker theology, which led to his arrest and confinement in the Tower. Here for more than eight months he was held in practically solitary confinement without a charge being lodged against him, but it was during this confinement that he wrote his most popular pamphlet, later

enlarged into a little book, entitled *No Cross No Crown*. Again in August, 1670, Penn was arrested at a Quaker meeting, charged with "committing a riot," and after a tumultuous trial in which the Judge and the prosecutors proved no match for Penn's sharp tongue, he was acquitted, though he was compelled to pay a fine for contempt of court. On his release he hurried to his father's bedside just in time to receive forgiveness and to witness his father's passing.

By this time William Penn had become one of the most conspicuous Quakers in England and because of his position and wealth was looked upon by the average churchman "as one of those dangerous fellows" who make radicalism respectable.

Just before his father's death Penn had written one of his best and most influential pamphlets, the *Great Case of Liberty of Conscience*. Coming to London after attending to the settlement of his father's estate, he was again arrested at a Friend's meeting accused of violation of the atrocious Five Mile Act of 1665. This time he was confined in Newgate prison, where he occupied himself writing his *Apology* for the Quakers and his *Postscript to Truth Exalted*. On his release he set out on a missionary tour to Holland and Germany, and in the spring of 1672 was married to the beautiful Gulielma Maria Springett, the stepdaughter of Isaac Pennington, one of the greatest of the early Quakers. Gulielma Penn was one of those quiet, brave women who occupy themselves primarily with the cares of their family, but who exercise an indirect influence of incalculable power over those nearest them.

Penn's friendly relationship to the court, inherited from his father, proved to be both an advantage and an embarrassment. The easygoing Charles II naturally favored

toleration, while the Duke of York, later James II, had a personal liking for William Penn and felt less antagonism to the Quakers than to other dissenters. The Stuarts wanted religious toleration for Catholics and Penn's stanch advocacy of religious liberty led him to urge it from principle. At the same time he was urging toleration for dissenters and uncontrolled parliaments. On the accession of James II to the throne in 1685, Penn secured the release of more than a thousand Quakers from prison and applauded the policy of James II in his famous Declaration of Indulgence. When the revolution of 1688 came his friendship for the deposed king compromised his position and for a time was under grave suspicion of disloyalty. The greatest advantage, however, which arose out of Penn's friendship with the Stuarts was the grant to him by Charles II of the great province of Pennsylvania.

When Admiral Penn died there was owing him by the Government some £16,000. This partly represented arrears in pay, partly loans to the Navy Office and partly loans to the royal brothers. Why the debt had been ignored for ten years we do not know, for Admiral Penn died in 1670 and it was not until March, 1681, that William Penn was handed the grant of the province of Pennsylvania under the Great Seal of England.

But Pennsylvania was not William Penn's first venture in American colonization. He had already acquired an interest in West Jersey, and later was one of several proprietors of East Jersey. In 1677 he had drawn up the justly famous concessions and agreements for the government of West Jersey, which have been termed by our own greatest contemporary student of colonial government "the broadest, sanest, and most equitable charter draughted for

any body of colonists up to that time." Among the things for which it provided was the purchase of Indian lands; it guaranteed personal rights, and freedom of speech in the Assembly, which was to be freely elected by the settlers. "We lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as men and Christians," stated Penn and his associates, "for we put the power in the people, nor was any person to be called in question or molested for his conscience or for worshipping according to his conscience."

With the grant of the great province of Pennsylvania William Penn threw himself with enthusiasm into its settlement and organization. He was a man of boundless energy and now at thirty-seven years of age, was ready to undertake this greatest enterprise of his life. Immediately a cousin, William Markham, was sent to America to make preparations for the first settlers, while information regarding the colony was spread broadcast, nor were his converts in Holland and in southern Germany forgotten. The *Frame of Government* which he devised for his American provinces was not so democratic as the West Jersey *Agreements*, but it guaranteed the fundamental liberties of individuals, while all believers in God were "in no ways to be molested or prejudiced for their religious Persuasion," nor were they to "be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatever."

Though doubtless Penn's dominant motives were religious and philanthropic, he had no intention of giving his land away and he expected a reasonable income from it. Much of the best land was reserved for the proprietor or was granted to wealthy men in large estates. Quakerism was no ascetic system. Quakers glorified labor; nor did

they believe that God intended men to be poor and uncomfortable. Penn attempted to be a good business man, and a recent biography has pointed out that he invariably lived in houses too large and expensive for him. He liked good food and enjoyed a bottle of good Madeira.

During the year 1682 several ships "laden with Quakers" crossed the Atlantic and at the end of August Penn himself was on board the *Welcome* bound for America. His first stay lasted a year and ten months, at the end of which he felt called to return to England to protect his interests against the Maryland claims, and because of the terrible persecutions of the Quakers then going on in the mother country. During his first American residence he was occupied with many affairs: laying out Philadelphia; building his mansion house at Pennsbury; inspecting the interior of his province; visiting New York, Long Island and the Jerseys; discussing with Lord Baltimore the boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania; preaching at Friends' meetings; and perhaps most interesting of all, dealing with the Indians.

He believed that the Indians were children of God and therefore his brothers, and that they should be treated with understanding and generosity. The several agreements which Penn made with the Indians have been fused by tradition into the one treaty made at Shackamaxon where it was agreed that "the Indians and English must live in Love as long as the Sun gave Light." Though Penn's dealings with the Indians have no doubt been somewhat idealized, it is no more than the plain truth that as long as he lived the Indians were loyal to him, and long after his death held his name in loving remembrance.

Penn returned to England just as his friend the Duke

of York was ascending the throne, and was not able to return to America until 1699. These were troublesome years both for England and for William Penn. As we have noted, his friendship for James compromised him with the Revolution of 1688. In 1694 came the death of his devoted and beautiful Gulielma, and two years later his marriage to Hannah Callowhill, who was neither young nor beautiful, but proved a faithful and capable wife in his last days of affliction.

Arriving in Pennsylvania in December, 1699, this time with his entire family, he hoped to remain as a permanent resident. But with the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701) the proposal was made to annex to the crown all proprietary colonies. To protect his interest he felt it necessary to return again to England, and he did succeed in retaining his proprietorship. But his principal work was now done, though there were yet ahead of him seventeen years of life. His last years were full of disappointment and sorrow. There were endless disputes between the Pennsylvania governors and the Assembly, for Penn was particularly unfortunate in choosing his governors; he was embarrassed with debt and for a time lay in a debtors' prison; his eldest son, William, Jr., was a rake and a constant grief to his father. Yet in the face of these sorrows and difficulties Penn continued his writing and speaking until an attack of apoplexy in 1712 destroyed his memory and rendered him incapable of further activity.

Our greatest interest in William Penn lies in his achievement in founding a state in which liberty of conscience was guaranteed. This was his crowning work, and the principal reason for the permanent place which he occupies in history. The humanity and wisdom he displayed in his treatment

of the Indians furnished a noble example, but few were willing to follow it. William Penn died in 1718, a defeated man, but the ideal for which he had stood was not defeated.

CHAPTER III

THE COLONIAL AWAKENERS

Revivalism as we have come to think of it in America had its rise in the eighteenth century and its greatest development on the frontier.

In the American colonies, for the first time in the history of Christendom since the Reformation, there had come to be a group of civil states in which the majority of the people were without church affiliation. Church membership in the colonies, from the beginning, had been a matter of the few and not of the masses. In Congregational New England there had been compulsory church attendance for all; but the necessity of relating a satisfactory religious experience before the congregation, as a basis of church membership, meant that relatively few of the third and fourth generations could qualify. The adoption of the Halfway Covenant in 1662 whereby children of unconverted parents, who had themselves shared the covenant with their parents, might receive baptism, but not the Lord's Supper or take part in church elections, did not, in the long run, help the general spiritual condition of the New England churches. The result was simply to increase the number of halfway church members, while the number of actual church members declined with each succeeding generation.

In the middle and southern colonies the proportion of church members to the total population was undoubtedly

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much smaller than in New England. The large eighteenth-century German and Scotch-Irish immigration had come largely without ministers or schoolmasters and the moral and religious conditions prevailing among these immigrants is generally pictured as deplorable. In the southern colonies the influence of religion was less general than anywhere else in early eighteenth-century America. Here the Anglican Church was established by law, but since there was no Anglican bishop in the colonies, confirmation of members was impossible; and even among those who called themselves Church of England people, there were very few actual communicants.

"Religion is on the wane among us. . . . We are risen up a Generation that have in great measure forgot the errand of our Fathers" was the complaint uttered by Rev. Samuel Whitman of Connecticut in 1714, reinforcing the observation of Increase Mather made a generation earlier: "Clear, sound conversions," he stated in 1678, "are not frequent. Many of the rising generation are profane Drunkards, Swearers, Licentious and scoffers at the power of Godliness." Ten years before, William Stoughton had said to the Massachusetts legislature, "O what a sad metamorphosis hath of later years passed upon us in these churches and plantations! Alas! how is New England in danger to be buried in its own ruins." Such was the gloomy religious outlook in New England as seen by some of the pious contemporaries just at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. The first generation settlers had come fresh from the struggle for freedom to worship according to their own consciences. Their children or their children's children had no such experience of conflict, no such stimulus to place religion in

the very center of their lives. The old sense of mission was gone, and Puritan religion was fast becoming externalized and formal. Added to the general cooling off of religion among church members was the fact that there was an increasing class everywhere throughout the colonies who had never had a religious interest. Times were indeed ripe for something new to arise in the realm of religion.

JONATHAN EDWARDS

More responsible than any other single individual for putting new life into New England religion was Jonathan Edwards. As we attempt to interpret the life of this first great philosophic intelligence in American history, the statement of George A. Gordon in his autobiography seems particularly appropriate: "It is a superficial tale that we relate; the deep things are of God."

The fifth child and only son in a family of eleven children, Jonathan Edwards was born October 3, 1703. His father, Rev. Timothy Edwards, who often referred to his sixty feet of daughters, was for sixty-four years the minister at East Windsor, Connecticut; his mother, Esther Stoddard, the daughter of the well-known Rev. Solomon Stoddard of Northampton, Massachusetts.

Entering Yale College in 1716, when less than thirteen years of age, Edwards graduated in 1720. His early education had been obtained under his father's and mother's tuition and as a child he had manifested an unusual precocity. At twelve he had made a careful scientific study of flying spiders; at fourteen he read Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding* with delight. In college he developed a power of theoretic reasoning, by which in terms of Newtonian science he worked out an explanation of the

universe, and projected a treatise on the *Mind* in which all the major problems with which he later dealt were listed. After two years' further study in theology at New Haven and a short pastorate of a Presbyterian church in New York, Edwards returned to Yale as a tutor. Here he remained until 1727 when he resigned to become the colleague of his maternal grandfather in the Church at Northampton.

Equally precocious was Edwards in his religious development. At the tender age of seven he had led other children in religious exercises in connection with a revival in his father's church. Later this childish religion wore off, to be followed later by a religious experience in a second revival just before he entered college. The great experience however which was to determine the course of his life came just after he left college, when his thought and emotion culminated in a satisfying mystical experience in which holiness was revealed to him as something divinely beautiful, in which he came to accept the Calvinistic conception of God that had earlier appeared to him as a "horrible doctrine." The idea of a sovereign God now seemed to him a conception of supreme beauty and majesty, especially when manifested in the bestowal of salvation. It was this mystical, emotional experience that later gave to Edwards' preaching an element of appeal which made it particularly effective in arousing emotional response on the part of his hearers.

Of major importance in the life of Jonathan Edwards was his marriage to Sarah Pierpont in July, 1727. She was the daughter of Rev. James Pierpont of New Haven, and the granddaughter of Thomas Hooker, the father of Connecticut. Edwards had long been attracted by the character and beauty of this young lady. At nineteen he had written a striking poetic description of her when she was thirteen,

in which he noted her "wonderful sweetness, calmness and universal benevolence of mind" . . . and how when walking "in the fields and groves" she seemed "to have someone invisible always conversing with her." It was an ideal marriage, a union which years of stress and strain only served to make the stronger. She supplied to a large degree what Edwards lacked. He was solemn and shy, she vivacious and always cheerful; he had little facility in management, she shouldered the care of the eleven children and the household, that his fragile health might be guarded and he be free to spend his thirteen hours daily in his study. Religiously she was also her husband's complement, for it is affirmed "that she had learned a shorter road to heaven" than he. After a visit to the Edwards' home in 1740 Whitefield wrote in his *Journal*, "A sweeter couple I have not seen. . . . She caused me to renew those prayers which for some months I have put up to God, that He would send me a daughter of Abraham to be my wife." To explain the later achievements and influence of Jonathan Edwards Sarah Pierpont must be taken into full account.

Coming to the Northampton Church as the colleague of the aged Solomon Stoddard, Edwards became the sole pastor two years later on his grandfather's death. Edwards' preaching must have been stimulating from the start, in contrast to the declining pulpit performances of his grandfather. He was particularly attractive to young people, who must have suffered youthful agonies under the later preaching of Stoddard. Of course Jonathan Edwards had no notion of starting such a religious upheaval as actually resulted from the series of sermons which he began to preach in the late summer of 1734. His principal theme was God's right to deal with his creatures as he saw fit, pic-

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turing to his hearers the terrors of the world to come and the joy and blessedness which resulted from the acceptance of God. His aim was to combat the growing Arminianism, or the notion that man was capable of availing himself of certain "means" which would render his salvation more likely. But whatever his aim the result was overwhelming, partly because it was unexpected. In his objective descriptions of the beginning of the revival Edwards spoke of the "surprising conversions" and the "extraordinary work."

It is not difficult for us to understand the effects created by Edwards' preaching on such themes as "The Justice of God in the Damnation of Sinners"; "The Eternity of Hell's Torments"; "Wicked Men Useful in Their Destruction Only"; or his most widely known sermon "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God." We revolt at the pictures he presented of the endless burning agony of the wicked, but as we follow his close reasoning in these discourses, which even today read with power, we can visualize their terrific effect upon the Northampton congregation. One of the principal reasons for the effect achieved was the directness and passionate earnestness of the tall, pale-faced young preacher behind the desk. His preaching singled out individuals. In his presentation of these themes the people seemed first to be overwhelmed with a realization of their sinfulness and the justness of God in completely destroying them, and then with their complete helplessness. The results were often "outcries, faintings and fits" on the part of his hearers; but the total final effect was the complete transformation of the life of the town.

The best account of the Northampton revival was that written by Edwards himself. In this *Narrative of Sur-*

prising Conversions which is a perfectly objective description of what happened, Edwards tells us that

Presently . . . a great and earnest concern about the great things of religion, and the eternal world, became universal in all parts of the town, and among persons of all degrees and all ages.

Indeed

There was scarcely a single person in the town, either old or young, that was left unconcerned about the great things of the eternal world. . . . Souls did, as it were come by flocks to Jesus Christ.

This went on until the spring and summer of 1735, when the news of what was in progress in Northampton began to spread to other towns. In March South Hadley began to feel the effects of the revival, and about the same time in the neighboring towns of Deerfield, Hatfield and Enfield, the revival contagion appeared. By 1737 it had swept throughout the Connecticut Valley and the surrounding territory.

It will be impossible here to follow in detail the course of the revival, as it spread throughout the length and breadth of the colonies. Many other New England ministers were soon leading the religious awakening in their communities. Some of these tried deliberately to induce emotional extravagances, but Edwards was never guilty of anything like sensationalism, though there were numerous psychological disturbances, as we have seen, in his own congregation. The coming of George Whitefield on his first evangelical tour to New England in 1740 stirred the revival fervor to new heights, and the excitement spread in

the next four years, in successive waves, over the entire country.

As a whole Jonathan Edwards accepted the revival as a glorious work of God, although there were certain aspects of it which he did not uphold; but he became its principal defender against an increasing number of critics, chief of whom was Charles Chauncy of the First Church, Boston. As Professor McGiffert points out, Jonathan Edwards was first the reporter of the revival in his *Narrative of Surprising Conversions*; then he became its chief defender and critic in his *Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God* (1742); and *Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England* (1746), and finally he achieved his chief distinction as its theological interpreter. But before any attempt is made to appraise Edwards as a theologian, it will be best to follow his outward career from 1744, when the Great Revival may be said to have ended, to his untimely death at Princeton fourteen years later.

The years immediately following the Northampton revival were filled with disappointment and personal trials for Jonathan Edwards. Many of his own spiritual children turned upon him in virulent opposition. One of the most energetic of his opposers was Joseph Hawley, a cousin, who had formerly been a member of the Edwards household, while studying under Edwards, and was now a leading lawyer and politician. Undoubtedly Edwards was partly to blame for what seem to have been personal alienations. Many thought him stiff and unapproachable, holding himself aloof from pastoral calling except in case of extreme necessity. He was not blessed with a gift of small talk and

people felt uneasy in his presence. Thus he lacked the knack of influencing and leading men.

The immediate occasions for the controversy which ultimately eventuated in his dismissal from the Northampton Church were two. The first was a case of church discipline in which several of the young people of the congregation, some of whom were from the leading families, were called before the church for circulating unclean books. At once the town was in a blaze of excitement, and the net result was the alienation of the young people and many of their families as well. A second cause of Edwards' growing unpopularity was his determination to throw overboard the practice, of long standing in Northampton, of permitting unconverted persons to become full members of the church and receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. While originally accepting this practice, which his grandfather had inaugurated and which was now widely accepted in neighboring churches, Edwards had come gradually to the conclusion that it was wrong. He had come to feel as a result of the revival that the Christian life must begin with a conscious conversion experience. There had been no candidate for church membership in the Northampton Church from 1744 to 1748. The religious emotions of the town had seemingly dried up. But when in 1748 a candidate was presented Edwards made known his changed position. The result was a veritable tempest and Edwards found himself practically unsupported by the congregation, while a council of nine neighboring ministers voted by a majority of one to uphold the decision of the congregation that Edwards be dismissed.

Edwards' dismissal came in November, 1750. He was now forty-seven years of age with a family of ten children

and was thus under the necessity of finding as soon as possible a place to make a living. Having no immediate place to go there was nothing to do but remain in Northampton. He was occasionally invited to fill his former pulpit, as the church was a long time in securing his successor, while his wife and daughters added to the meager family income by selling embroidery and painted fans in Boston. Several opportunities soon presented themselves to Edwards, but eventually he accepted the pastorate of the little congregation at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, combined with the post of missionary to the Housatonic Indians. His missionary work was under the direction of the *London Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England*, which had grown out of John Eliot's and Jonathan Mayhew's Indian labors of a century before; the work among the western Massachusetts Indians had been begun in 1734 by John Sargeant.

In the summer of 1751 Edwards moved his family to Stockbridge in the heart of the Berkshires. Here he bought a house and woodland for fuel, and settled down to what he evidently hoped would be a quiet pastorate and an opportunity of writing down some of the great thoughts which were demanding utterance. From the standpoint of literary productivity the seven years at Stockbridge were the most fruitful of Edwards' life. There were plenty of distractions, however. There was the bustle attendant upon marrying off his daughter Esther to the brilliant young President of the College of New Jersey, Aaron Burr. Moreover he had hardly gotten on the ground before he had a fight on his hands to protect the Indians under his charge from the rapacious white settlers, among the most unscrupulous of whom were some of his own relatives.

This fight, it needs to be said, he finally won. Besides ministering to the white congregation he preached once a week to the Indians through an interpreter, but it is doubtful whether he considered himself much of a success as a missionary. In fact by this time he had come to think of himself as "fitted for no other business but study."

Before coming to Stockbridge Edwards had already produced his first important theological work, which was intended as a defense of the emotionalism of the revival. It was entitled *A Treatise concerning the Religious Affections* (1746). The critics of the revival, such as Charles Chauncy, had attacked the over-emphasis upon the emotions and had declared that religion ought to be primarily a matter of the reason. Edwards on the other hand contended that "Our people do not so much need to have their heads stored, as to have their hearts touched." It was this position together with a strong sense of the ethical fruits of religion which he now set out to defend by answering the question, "What is the Nature of True Religion?" At Stockbridge, among numerous other writings, he produced the four treatises for which perhaps he is best known. The first was the *Careful and Strict Enquiry into the Modern Prevailing Notions of Freedom of the Will* (1754), which grew out of his fear and hatred of Arminianism, since one of the principal grounds for the Arminian denial of predestination was its contention for the freedom of man's will. He was fully persuaded that if Arminianism was to be crushed it could only be accomplished by demolishing this doctrine. For many years *Edwards on the Will* was considered by the defenders of Calvinism the final word, and the unanswerable defense of their position. In the second of the Stockbridge productions, *Concerning the End for*

Which God Created the World (1755) Edwards contended that God created the world to provide for the happiness of mankind as well as to manifest his own glory, ends which had formerly been considered mutually exclusive.

In *The Great Christian Doctrine of Original Sin Defended*, published in 1757, Edwards dealt with the difficult and eternal problem of the origin of evil. The book was an answer to an attack upon the doctrine of Original Sin by a Presbyterian minister of England, John Taylor, which was finding wide acceptance in eastern Massachusetts. This treatise has been considered, by those capable of judging, the most "intellectually acute" of all Edwards' works. Not only did Edwards "brilliantly elaborate" the old arguments for the doctrine, but as in every one of his other treatises, he added something to it. His most important contribution here was his attempt to prove that God was not the author of evil. Man's depravity, said Edwards, after the fall of Adam, "consists in his losing all impulse toward benevolence and being given over wholly to self love." Thus Edwards introduced the idea of benevolence which he developed further in his fourth great theological work. This, the last of his great Stockbridge treatises entitled *The Nature of True Virtue*, had probably more immediate and practical influence upon New England theological thought and life than any of his writings, though it was never completed and was not published until after his death (1765). "True virtue," he contended, "most essentially consists in benevolence to Being in general," while sin consists of self-love. Love to mankind as well as love to God is therefore the basis of true piety. Growing naturally out of this position came a whole new emphasis on man's relationship to man. It gave a new basis for opposition to

the institution of human slavery and for Indian missions; and it gave rise to new philanthropies which in the early part of the next century were to play an important rôle throughout New England and those regions where the New England influence extended.

Before leaving the writings of Jonathan Edwards mention must be made of a book, non-theological in nature, which perhaps had more to do with creating missionary interest in America than any other one thing—I refer to Edwards' *Memoirs of David Brainerd*, a fuller treatment of which will appear in a later chapter.

The remaining facts in the life of Edwards are soon told. In September, 1757, his son-in-law, Aaron Burr, the President of the College of New Jersey which had now been permanently located at Princeton, died. Edwards had from the beginning shown a great interest in the new college, for most of its founders were Yale graduates and his friends. By this time Jonathan Edwards' reputation as a scholar had become widely recognized and the trustees were anxious, no doubt, to secure to the college the advantage which would come from having such a distinguished president. Two days after the death of President Burr the trustees elected Edwards to be his son-in-law's successor. Edwards did not want to assume the responsibilities of such an office. He felt his unfitness and wrote frankly to the trustees about the matter, and it was only after an ecclesiastical council, meeting at Stockbridge, had advised his acceptance that he finally agreed to the appointment.

It was in January, 1758, that Edwards moved to Princeton in the very midst of a fearful smallpox epidemic. Soon after his arrival his scientific curiosity caused him to propose to the trustees that he be inoculated, a practice still

under popular suspicion. Perhaps he thought his example might bring inoculation into general use and thus help to put a stop to the raging disease in the town. In those days inoculation meant at least a mild case of smallpox and this Edwards now developed. At first it was thought his case was favorable, but complications set in, high fever developed, and on March 22, 1758, he died, having been president at Princeton less than two months. Three weeks later his daughter, Esther Edwards Burr, followed her father in death, and within a year his wife, Sarah Pierpont Edwards, passed away. Thus came to a tragic end this rich and forceful life, seemingly in the very fulness of its powers. But perhaps his work was done, for too often, in the history of American education, a college presidency has proven an anti-climax to an otherwise distinguished and useful career.

It was a noble theological structure which Jonathan Edwards had created, composed not only of materials inherited from the Calvinistic tradition: added to them were ideas taken from the philosophical systems current in his day. "The whole edifice was designed to make evident the majestic power of God." But Jonathan Edwards personalized Calvinism. His theology as well as his preaching grew out of his own inner experience, and he transferred the doctrine of God's sovereignty, of election, of predestination from a political and social philosophy to the inner life of the individual. It was the preaching of this personalized Calvinism which searched out the hearts of his congregation and began the great Northampton revival. Jonathan Edwards was a Calvinist with something added, and this "something" furnished the vital spark which put new energy into New England religious life and thought for more than a hundred years, and created a school of theologians who carried the

principles of Edwards directly to their logical conclusions, furnishing both to individuals and to society motives of great ethical value.

GILBERT TENNENT

The Great Awakening which swept over the American colonies in the eighteenth century had three more or less distinct phases. The first was the New England Awakening which, as we have seen, had its beginning largely under the inspiration of Jonathan Edwards; a second phase was the middle colony revival, the main features of which may be gathered about Gilbert Tennent. The last phase was the southern colonial revival, which as Dr. Gewehr has pointed out, had likewise three distinct phases—the Presbyterian, the Baptist, and the Methodist, each following the other in successive waves, each under its own leadership. Thus the Presbyterian phase of the southern revival gathers about the name Samuel Davies; the leaders of the Baptist revival were humble farmer-preachers such as Shubal Stearns and Daniel Marshall who have left few written records, but the total effect of whose work still lives; the Methodist revival centers about the names of Devereux Jarratt, the outstanding evangelical among the Anglican clergy of Virginia, and the first Methodist lay preachers to come to America, while George Whitefield in his seven tours of America was the principal influence which united these several phases into one vast Colonial Awakening.

Gilbert Tennent was the eldest son of William Tennent, Sr. His father's chief distinction was that for twenty years, in a log schoolhouse in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, twenty miles north and east of Philadelphia he conducted a school for young men, from among whose graduates came

the principal leadership in colonial Presbyterianism for more than a generation. The place was called Neshaminy, and the school has come to be known as "The Log College."

William Tennent, Sr., was a native of Ireland, educated at the University of Edinburgh. He became a priest of the Irish Established Church, though he never held a parish. His wife, Katharine Kennedy, was the daughter of a minister of the Church of Scotland, and all four of their sons, Gilbert, William, Jr., John and Charles were Irish born. Inability to find a place in Ireland led the father doubtless to turn to the New World, and the family arrived in Philadelphia September 6, 1718. James Logan, William Penn's agent in Pennsylvania, was Mrs. Tennent's cousin and gave the family a cordial welcome to America and in fact did them many a friendly turn during the next twenty-five years. Less than two weeks after the Tennent family arrived in America, the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia met in that city. The senior Tennent having determined to change his church affiliations applied for admission to the Synod and on the second day of the session was received, after giving seven reasons for his leaving the Episcopal church. From 1718 to 1726 he was pastor of two churches on Long Island and during this period he extended his labors also across the Sound into Connecticut.

During the early eighteen twenties a flood of Scotch-Irish immigration was flowing into Bucks County, Pennsylvania, resulting in the formation of new Presbyterian congregations there. In 1726 the Tennents came to Bucks County where the senior Tennent became the pastor of two congregations, one located near the south branch of Neshaminy Creek, the other at what is now Doylestown. Here

he lived and worked the remainder of his life. In the same year his eldest son Gilbert was licensed by the Presbytery of Philadelphia and within the course of the next year became the pastor of a Presbyterian congregation at New Brunswick, New Jersey.

To understand Gilbert Tennent's place in the middle colony revival we must know something of the influence exerted by his father's "Log College." Gilbert had already received his training under his father before the "Log College" opened, and the school was evidently begun to prepare the three younger sons for the ministry. The fame of the school was soon spread abroad and other young men came, a majority of whom were looking toward the Presbyterian ministry. Eventually there were from sixteen to eighteen graduates, and the scholarship which several of them attained gives evidence of the thoroughness of their preparation. But perhaps the principal distinguishing mark upon all of the young ministers trained at the "Log College" was their flaming evangelical zeal. Besides his four sons, all of whom became evangelical preachers of influence and power, there were several other graduates who had a large part in the great middle colony revival, among them being Samuel Finley, Samuel Blair and John Rowland. Finley became the fifth president of the College of New Jersey; Samuel Blair, besides his influence as an evangelist, established another Log College at Fagg's Manor in Pennsylvania where Samuel Davies, fourth president of Princeton, received his training; John Rowland was one of the most effective of the revivalists. Thus it might be said that William Tennent's "Log College" generated the middle colony revival.

Gradually a group of "Log College" ministers came to

be settled over the central New Jersey area, and their militant revivalism was soon producing a wave of emotional religion which swept over whole communities. Gilbert Tennent was the recognized leader of the movement and in 1738 the Presbytery of New Brunswick was erected, which from the first was dominated by the "Log College" revivalists.

Meanwhile opposition to the revival was developing among the older Presbyterian ministers, centering in Philadelphia. They have been termed "a small body of small men," who objected to the licensing and ordaining of the men from the "Log College" on the ground that its graduates were not adequately trained. And yet there was not a minister among the anti-revivalists who had anything like the pulpit power of Gilbert Tennent, or the scholarly attainments of Samuel Blair. The opposition resulted in the passage by the Synod of a regulation prohibiting presbyteries from ordaining candidates who were not graduates of either New England or European colleges. This of course was aimed at the graduates of the "Log College" and their revivalism.

The passage of this measure was a signal for the beginning of a controversy which was finally to split colonial Presbyterianism into revivalists and anti-revivalists, the latter known as Old Side and the former as New Side. The revivalists were by no means blameless for this unfortunate schism, for there was a tendency among them toward censoriousness, which is well illustrated in Tennent's famous Nottingham sermon of March, 1739, entitled "The Dangers of an Unconverted Ministry." He described those who resisted the revival as "moral Negroes" who hinder instead of help others "in at the straight gate"; he likened

them to caterpillars who "labor to devour every green thing," and stated that they resembled the Pharisees of Christ's day "as one crow's egg does another." He expected this sermon would arouse a hornets' nest and he was not mistaken.

Gilbert Tennent's fame as a preacher and revivalist was greatly enhanced by his contacts with George Whitefield. Whitefield on his second tour of America visited Tennent in New Brunswick, and after hearing him preach wrote in his journal that he had never heard "such a searching sermon." It was Whitefield also who made Gilbert Tennent known in New England; and in the autumn of 1740 Tennent received an invitation from several New England ministers to come and continue the work begun there by Whitefield. The invitation was accepted and the influence of his preaching upon the masses was even greater than that of Whitefield. He preached with tremendous effect in Boston where the ministers testified that hundreds of persons concerned for their souls visited him there during that winter. Before leaving New England he preached with equal effect in more than twoscore Massachusetts and Connecticut towns. There was much opposition aroused by his New England tour, and his rough personal appearance and unpolished manners were ridiculed, but no one could deny the power of his preaching or the influence he exerted.

At the meeting of the Philadelphia Synod in May, 1741, just after Tennent's return to the middle colonies from his New England tour, formal protest against "the heterodox and anarchical principles of Tennent and his followers" was made before the Synod. "We protest," it stated, "before God and his holy angels, and you reverend brethren, that these brethren have no right to be acknowledged as mem-

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bers of this judicatory of Christ, whose principles and practices are so diametrically opposite to our doctrine and principles of government and order, which the great King of the Church has laid down in his Word" and it closes with the exhortation, "Let God arise and let his enemies be scattered." Confusion followed the reading of the protest, and in the midst of the uproar Tennent and his followers withdrew.

Instead of scattering God's enemies the protest resulted in dividing his servants, for from that time the breach between the revivalists and the anti-revivalists grew until in 1745, at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, the revivalists formed the Synod of New York as a separate Presbyterian body. At the time of its formation the New York Synod was composed of twenty-two ministers, while the Old Side Synod of Philadelphia contained twenty-six. But so full of enthusiasm were the young men who composed the revivalist Synod that they soon surpassed the anti-revivalists nearly three to one both in numbers of ministers and congregations. Most significant, however, from the standpoint of the future of American Presbyterianism, was the influence upon education and missions exerted by the Presbyterian revivalists.

Several of the New Side leaders became founders of other private "log colleges," as were Samuel and John Blair, Samuel Finley and Robert Smith. But more important was the establishment by the New Side Synod in 1746 of the College of New Jersey. Its first president, Jonathan Dickinson, was the New Side minister at Elizabethtown, where the college was opened in his parsonage. Removed to the parsonage of Aaron Burr at Newark on the death of Dickinson, it was permanently located at Princeton in 1756.

Established primarily to train ministers, the College of New Jersey literally poured a stream of zealous young evangelists into the New Side Synod.

From the establishment of the College of New Jersey Gilbert Tennent was one of its most active trustees. In 1743 he accepted a call to Philadelphia to take charge of a new congregation made up largely of Whitefield's sympathizers, which for a number of years worshiped in the building that had been constructed for Whitefield's use. Here Tennent settled down to a more or less conventional pastorate, and as time went on he became increasingly concerned to bring about the healing of the schism which he had done so much to create. In 1749 he published his *Irenicum Ecclesiasticum, or a Humble, Impartial Essay upon the Peace of Jerusalem*, in which he humbly confessed the mistakes of himself and his followers. The Old Side Synod were also ready to make concessions, and the result was the union of the two Synods in 1758 to form the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, which in 1759 had an even one hundred ministers.

In 1753 Gilbert Tennent and Samuel Davies journeyed to Great Britain to raise funds for the College of New Jersey. Money was secured from the Presbyterian churches in England, Scotland and Ireland, aggregating about £4,000. On his return Tennent continued his pastorate in Philadelphia until his death in 1764.

The Tennents were among the most significant religious leaders in the middle colonies in the period of the Great Awakening, and Gilbert Tennent as a revivalist ranks with Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield.

SAMUEL DAVIES

Samuel Davies was the product of American Presbyterian revivalism, and was perhaps the most eloquent American preacher of the entire eighteenth century. Born in the colony of Delaware November 3, 1723, of Welsh stock, he received his early instruction and religious training under his mother's supervision, and the principal part of his education in Samuel Blair's Log College at Fagg's Manor in Pennsylvania. He was licensed to preach by the New Castle Presbytery in 1746 and sent the next year as an evangelist to Hanover County, Virginia, to supply certain new Presbyterian congregations forming in that colony.

Religiously speaking eighteenth-century Virginia was a field ripe for the harvest. The upper classes, though superficially attached to the Anglican church, were indifferent to religion if not skeptical, while the middle and lower classes were largely unchurched and completely irreligious. Meanwhile a large Scotch-Irish immigration was flowing into the back country, welcomed by the Virginia authorities with assurances that their ministers would not be molested so long as they conformed to the rules prescribed by the Act of Toleration passed by the English Parliament in 1689. Before the middle of the century there were four settled Presbyterian ministers in the western counties of Virginia. But the Presbyterian awakening in Virginia did not spring from these western congregations, which were Old Side in their sympathies.

The Virginia soil in which Presbyterianism found its most abundant rootage was prepared by Samuel Morris and his neighbors in Hanover County. Into their hands had fallen some religious books, and they began to have meet-

ings in one another's houses, where their neighbors gathered to hear the books read. So large did these gatherings become that special houses were built to accommodate the throngs and a real religious concern was aroused. Little attention was given this movement by the colonial authorities until the people began to desert the parish churches to attend the gatherings in the Reading Houses. Then the leaders were summoned to Williamsburg to establish their status under the Toleration Act. This they did by declaring themselves Lutherans, since among the books they had read was Luther's *Commentary on Galatians*. Such was the situation when William Robinson was sent out in 1742-1743 by the New Side Presbytery of New Brunswick to visit the new settlements in Virginia and North Carolina. Coming into Virginia by way of the Valley, he began to hear of the Reading Houses farther east. Morris and those associated with him began to hear of the effectiveness of Robinson's preaching; and he was urged to visit them.

Robinson's visit to Hanover County marks the beginning of the Presbyterian revival in Virginia, and from this time forward Hanover County was the center of the southern revival, and became the cradle of southern Presbyterianism. There came now a succession of "Log College" itinerants into Virginia until Samuel Davies accepted the pastorate of these new congregations formed in Hanover and adjacent counties in 1748.

Samuel Davies' ten years in Virginia (1748-1758) constituted a period of abundant fruitage both for himself and Virginia Presbyterianism. The Established Church had lost the affection and allegiance of the people, and its clergy were considered by the masses little more than parasites of the wealthy and powerful. Davies was careful from the

very start of his Virginia ministry to stay within the requirements of the Toleration Act, and no new meeting house was opened without securing the proper license. Thus within a few months after his arrival he had secured not only his own license to preach in Virginia but he was ministering to seven congregations, all worshipping in properly licensed meeting houses in five counties.

Such a widely extended parish necessitated preaching on week days, and extensive itinerating. To his week-day services came numerous members of the Established Church who were accustomed to attend their own parish churches on the Sabbath, but it was not long until some of these began to desert the Established Church entirely to become Presbyterians. This, of course, aroused the bitter opposition of the Anglican clergy, and they were not long in making their opposition felt. Their attack on Davies was based on three counts: first, they questioned whether the Toleration Act extended to Virginia; second, they questioned the right to itinerate; and lastly, they questioned whether the New Light Presbyterians could qualify as a body of dissenters. Thus for a period of five years, to 1755, Davies was engaged not only in carrying on his extended revivalistic work, but was at the same time fighting the battle for the rights of dissenters in Virginia. Peyton Randolph, the King's Attorney General in Virginia, was his most able opponent. On one occasion Davies appeared before the General Court and replied to the Attorney General with such effective eloquence that he won the admiration even of his opponents.

Though accused of attacking the Established Church, Davies never stooped to such tactics and repeatedly declared that he did not come to Virginia to "Presbyterianize the

colony" but to promote Christianity. As much, however, cannot be said for the Established Church clergy who were bitter in their attacks upon the "New Lights," terming them "disturbers of the peace and order," impostors, and schismatics, who permit pretended conversion to supply the place of learning.

In 1753 Samuel Davies and Gilbert Tennent visited England, Scotland, and Ireland to raise funds for the newly established College of New Jersey. They remained there until 1755. Davies recorded the happenings of the voyage and his experience in Great Britain in a carefully kept *Journal*. Their undertaking for the college was completely successful; and Davies took advantage of his presence in England to secure from the Attorney General an opinion establishing the legal status of dissenters in Virginia under the Toleration Act.

Davies' return to Virginia and Whitefield's third visit to the colony in 1755 account for the extension of the revival and the rapid increase of the number of Presbyterian communicants. By that time Davies had three assistants but this did not cause him to lessen his own activities. He was in demand both in Virginia and North Carolina and made long preaching tours, in one of which, in 1757, he covered five hundred miles and preached forty sermons. One of his first acts on his return to Virginia was the formation of the Hanover Presbytery in December, 1755, which came to be the mother presbytery of the southern branch of the church.

Davies in his preaching was warmly evangelical, his principal aim being to transform the hearts and lives of his hearers. His sermons were carefully prepared, were always clear and pungent. He was particularly famed for his elo-

quent patriotic appeals in support of the English cause in the French and Indian War, and for these he gained the thanks of the Virginia authorities. Patrick Henry, who as a youth sat under his preaching, declared Davies the greatest orator he had ever heard, and adopted him as a model of eloquence. Davies was much concerned for the condition of the Negroes; he often preached to them, distributed religious books among them, and received them into membership in his congregations.

In 1758 at the death of President Edwards, Samuel Davies was called to the presidency of the College of New Jersey. Uncertain as to the wisdom of acceptance he submitted the case to the judgment of the Presbytery, and through their persuasion he at first declined, stating that he believed his work in Virginia was more important. But the College was not to be denied and laid the matter before the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, which secured his removal to Princeton.

Never in robust health, Samuel Davies lived but eighteen months after his removal to New Jersey. He died February 4, 1761, at the age of thirty-eight. At the time of his death he was probably the most celebrated representative of American Presbyterianism, and though the period of his active life was brief he had laid the foundations of a work that has lasted to our own day. After his death his sermons were published in numerous editions which for fifty years enjoyed a wider reading than those of any of his contemporaries. He was the earliest colonial Presbyterian hymn writer, and some of his hymns continue in common use. The most familiar of them contains lines epitomizing the devotion with which he labored to build the Kingdom of God:

Thine would I live, thine would I die,
Be thine through all eternity.

SHUBAL STEARNS

To understand why the Baptists are so numerous and their influence so widespread throughout the South today we will need to survey the Baptist phase of the great colonial awakenings.

The Baptists had no direct part in the Edwardian and Whitefieldian revivals which spread throughout New England between 1734 and 1744, nor were they largely concerned in the middle colony awakening. Indirectly however they reaped a relatively large harvest, especially in New England. The controversy which arose in Congregationalism over the revival issue often produced a distinct cleavage between revivalists and anti-revivalists, and numerous congregations divided. Where this occurred the revivalists frequently took or received the name *separates*, and eventually a considerable number of these New England *separate* congregations became Baptists.

It was in 1754 that two of these *separate* Baptist preachers from Connecticut, Shubal Stearns and his brother-in-law Daniel Marshall, came with their families to Berkeley County, Virginia. They settled on Opekon Creek but were not well received by the *regular* Baptists there, because of their revivalism, and they moved on across the Virginia boundary into Guilford County, North Carolina. Here they settled on Sandy Creek and almost immediately organized a Baptist church of sixteen members, while Stearns and Marshall began to itinerate widely. Converts became numerous, other congregations were formed, and Sandy Creek became the center of a wide-flung revival

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movement throughout Virginia and northern North Carolina. Other preachers were "raised up" from among the new converts, and by the opening of the Revolution, the Baptists had become a numerous and important body.

The *separate* Baptists, springing as they did out of the Whitefield revival, took on all its fire and fervor. Their ministers were drawn from the people and were without education and naturally stressed an emotional religion. Working very largely among the poorer classes, their congregations were often brought to a high pitch of emotional excitement which led frequently to extreme physical manifestations, such as crying out and falling. Such methods, however, were successful in reaching great masses of the common people who had up to that time been little influenced either by the Established Church or by the Presbyterian revival.

Shubal Stearns may serve as an example of the type of leadership responsible for this phase of the great colonial awakening. He was a native of Boston, born about the year 1706. Of his early life we know very little except that his formal education was meager, though he possessed excellent natural ability and, like so many other Americans of similar background, developed into a man of sound judgment and excellent character. He identified himself with the New Lights or Separates in 1745, and immediately began to preach. Until 1751 he remained a member of the Congregational Church, but by that time he had become convinced that infant baptism was unscriptural; he determined to be immersed and, uniting with the New England Baptists, was soon ordained to the work of the ministry. After laboring three years in New England he, together with a number of others of like conviction, determined to

take the Baptist gospel to the southwest, and came finally, as has already been noted, into North Carolina.

The type of preaching brought into Virginia and North Carolina by these New England Baptists was entirely new to the people of that region, for they had never heard of the doctrine of conversion. The manner of their preaching was also novel. Stearns became noted for his warm and pathetic address, accompanied by vigorous gestures. The preachers, generally deeply affected themselves while preaching, stirred a corresponding emotion among their hearers, and the Baptist meetings, often held out of doors, became notable for the weeping, screaming, and acclamations of grief or joy. Shubal Stearns possessed a strong and musical voice which he knew how to use most effectively, and the other revivalist Baptist preachers generally copied his tones of voice and bodily actions.

Of the numerous Baptist preacher contemporaries of Shubal Stearns, Samuel Harriss and John Waller were among the most active. Harriss traveled far and wide, and so great became his reputation that people often came fifty and a hundred miles to attend his meetings. Waller baptized more than two thousand persons, constituted eighteen churches, and for years had the ministerial care of five congregations. Both men were often attacked by mobs, ridiculed because of their rite of dipping, or insulted by drunken ruffians. Stearns, while itinerating widely, remained the pastor at Sandy Creek to the end of his life.

By the time of Stearns' death in 1771 the Baptist revival had spread over northeastern Virginia, and by the opening of the War for Independence there were more than ten thousand Baptists in that colony. The work had been begun and carried on by "farmer preachers" of little

education, who refused to take any formal compensation. Indeed they definitely opposed a paid ministry, nor did they pay heed to the laws restraining dissenters. Thoroughly imbued with the doctrine of religious liberty and opposing a state church, the Baptist preachers openly attacked the Established Church and often refused to secure licenses either for themselves or their meeting houses. As a result of their disregard for the law and their manner of preaching, they suffered severe persecution, especially during the years just preceding the Revolution. But as has been so often true, such treatment served only to scatter the seed of the revival the more widely, and by the opening of the Revolution the southern Baptists were numerous enough to begin a vigorous struggle for religious liberty which was not relinquished until church and state were completely divorced.

DEVEREUX JARRATT

The coming of Methodism to America marked the last phase of the colonial revivals. Centering in Maryland and Virginia this phase of the Awakening may be gathered about the name of Devereux Jarratt, the only evangelical Anglican clergyman to co-operate with the Methodist itinerants.

A native Virginian, Devereux Jarratt was born in New Kent County on January 6, 1732, of Episcopalian parentage. His parents died when he was quite young and he went to live with an elder brother. Like many nominal Virginia Anglicans of the time, his religious education was sadly deficient. His schooling too was neglected, but as he approached manhood he began to apply himself to study while at work in the fields and during his spare time, and

soon gained a considerable local reputation for learning—a reputation which in due course brought him the opportunity of teaching school in Albemarle County, then a frontier region. Here he boarded with a godless family who spent their Sabbaths in “sporting,” but it was here, too, during his first year of teaching, that a chance traveler left a book containing eight of Whitefield’s sermons, the first book of the kind, Jarratt tells us, he had ever seen. The second year the young teacher, having obtained another school and boarded by turns among the families whose children were his pupils, came at length to stay in a devout New Light Presbyterian home where he came into contact for the first time with experimental religion. He was particularly influenced by the lady of the house who was a devoted Christian. Later Jarratt was employed in this home as a private tutor, and through his contacts with the religious household and through the reading of the New Testament and other religious books, he came finally to a definite religious experience.

He now began “to exercise his talents for the good of souls” as he had acquired, he states, “some knowledge of divinity” and “some gift in extempore prayer.” When the regular minister was engaged in another part of his parish Jarratt conducted meetings, where he delivered practical discourses and led the people in singing Watts’ hymns and psalms. In this way he came to think of the ministry as a life work, and at first contemplated entering the Presbyterian Church, since the influences which had led to his religious experience had been Presbyterian. But on more mature consideration and after he had learned that Wesley and Whitefield were members of the Church of England, he deter-

mined to enter that church and immediately set about to take orders in it.

And so it came about in the month of October, 1762, that this young Virginian, having obtained sufficient funds from the sale of three hundred acres of land left him on the death of his brother, set sail for England to seek ordination. After passing his examinations before the Bishop's chaplain he was ordained deacon on Christmas day by the Bishop of London, and on New Year's day, 1763, he obtained priest's orders at the hands of the Bishop of Chester. At that time every clergyman ordained for Virginia was granted a bounty of £20, and young Jarratt collected the sum at the Royal Exchequer and prepared to return to America. Before he could get away, however, the Thames River froze over—the delay thus caused permitted him to hear Wesley and Whitefield—and then just as the ice was breaking up he was taken ill of the dread smallpox. On recovery he found his money exhausted, a good share of it fraudulently taken by a fellow passenger with whom he had intrusted his belongings during his illness; but though penniless and depleted in strength, he finally succeeded in finding friends willing to finance his passage to America, and he arrived at Yorktown in July, 1763.

Jarratt at once presented his credentials as an ordained clergyman to the Commissary for Virginia and to the Governor, his next concern being to find a vacant parish where he might begin his ministry. By 1763 Virginia was covered with a network of parishes—there were ninety-five in the colony at the opening of the Revolution—many of them in charge of careless, incompetent clergymen. In the early part of the century there had been many parishes vacant,

but at this time vacancies were few. Jarratt however soon learned of an available post in Dinwiddie County and in August of 1763 he was installed as the rector of Bath parish, there to remain, a faithful spiritual shepherd, until his death in 1801.

Thoroughly imbued with evangelical truths and the revivalistic methods of the Presbyterians, Jarratt began immediately to preach personal and experimental religion in which emphasis was laid upon the necessity of conversion. In this he was alone, for there was not another Established Church clergyman in Virginia who supported his position, and he was "opposed and reproached, by the clergy, called an enthusiast, fanatic, visionary, dissenter, Presbyterian, madman." But opposition did not deter him from his course; and soon his churches were crowded with new hearers, and so great was the religious interest aroused that meetings were held in private homes, while news of these occurrences spread to other parishes.

Meanwhile Methodism was finding its way to the New World through the medium, first, of lay preachers, such as Robert Strawbridge and Philip Embury, both of whom came to America in the great Irish immigration, and by the latter seventeen sixties had established the first regular Methodist work in the colonies. Accounts of the activity of these lay preachers came to Wesley's ears and led him in 1769 to send his first official representatives to the American colonies. They were Joseph Pilmoor and Richard Boardman, and they were followed in 1771 by Francis Asbury and Richard Wright. In 1773 one of the Methodist lay preachers, Robert Williams, who had come to America on his own responsibility in 1769, stayed for a week at Jarratt's house. He was the first Methodist Jarratt had seen,

and he said of Williams, "I liked his preaching in the main very well." And having been assured "that the Methodists were true members of the Church of England" who desired "to build up and not divide the church," he gave the Methodist movement in America his hearty support, and for the next ten years was perhaps its most effective champion.

It is a significant fact that, during these years, Methodism grew most rapidly in that section of Virginia where Jarratt's influence was exerted. In 1774 there were two Methodist circuits in Virginia with 218 members; in 1776 there were five Virginia and North Carolina circuits, the New Brunswick circuit alone, which included Dinwiddie County, having 1,611 members. In 1777 there were 4,397 Methodists within the region of Jarratt's influence, while the total membership of all the Methodist circuits in America was something less than seven thousand. From 1776 to 1783 Jarratt was the only ordained clergyman willing to administer the sacraments to these Methodist groups, and he traveled over twenty-nine Virginia and North Carolina counties in his co-operation with the Methodist itinerants.

Sometime during this period Jarratt wrote to John Wesley telling him of the religious situation in Virginia, thanking him for sending preachers, and urging that he send over a minister of the Church of England to be stationed in a vacant parish about forty miles distant from his own, to assist him in directing the revival and administering sacraments. The fullest description of this phase of the Virginia revival is that written by Jarratt, prepared as a report to Wesley. During the entire winter of 1775-1776 the revival was at its height, when, to use Jarratt's words, "the spirit of the Lord was poured out in a manner we had not

seen before." People formerly quite indifferent to religion now flocked to hear Jarratt and the traveling preachers, and Jarratt and the Methodist itinerants worked shoulder to shoulder. The revival spread through the whole of Jarratt's parish and the adjoining counties.

As the number of Methodist societies grew and as none of the Methodist preachers were ordained, the burden of administering the sacraments came to be a heavy one. Jarratt tells us that "I took long rides through several circuits, to baptize their children, administer the sacraments, etc. All which I did without fee or reward, and I continued so to do so long as the Methodists stood to their profession," that is, of being churchmen. Some of the Virginia Methodist preachers began to talk of organizing a presbytery and ordaining one another, in order to meet the increasing need for the sacraments. Naturally Jarratt strongly opposed this move, and when the thing was done in 1779 Jarratt for a time was alienated from the Methodists, but was won back in 1780 when this action was repudiated. In 1782 Jarratt preached the opening sermon at a Methodist Conference held in Sussex County; and this body took formal action acknowledging their obligation to Mr. Jarratt and advising the preachers to consult him and take his advice in the absence of Asbury.

The organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church two years later was a severe blow to Jarratt, who felt that he had been deceived by the Methodists in their profession of loyalty to the Episcopal Church. He expressed sharp criticism of their action. He complained too that some of the Methodist itinerants forgot their obligation to him, and made him the butt of their attack for remaining in the Episcopal Church. But there is evidence that his hot resent-

ment against the separation of the Methodists from the church cooled and in a letter to Thomas Coke in 1791 he expressed admiration for Francis Asbury and for the work being accomplished by the Methodists.

Doubtless if there had been more Devereux Jarratts in America during these critical years there might have been no Methodist Episcopal Church. But perhaps separation from the Episcopalians gave Methodism a larger opportunity to develop an organization more suitable to American needs.

The latter years of Jarratt's life were not happy, for the decline in religion he witnessed all about him was difficult to bear. In spite of such discouragements he continued "in calling sinners to repentance," though he seldom "returned from church, but with a heavy heart." The last years of his life were filled with physical suffering due to cancer of the face, and he was "delivered from the disquietude of this world" on January 29, 1801. The funeral sermon, preached by his old friend Bishop Francis Asbury of the Methodist Episcopal Church, referred to Jarratt as "the first who received our dispersed preachers, when strangers and unfriended he took them into his house, and had societies formed in his parish." Devereux Jarratt was the first evangelical of the Episcopal Church in America, and though the fire he helped to kindle died down, it never went completely out.

GEORGE WHITEFIELD

Sharing in every one of the several phases of the great awakenings of the eighteenth century both in England and America, but belonging to none exclusively—the greatest

revivalist of them all, and perhaps the greatest of all the Christian centuries—was George Whitefield.

The son of a tavern keeper in Gloucester, England, George Whitefield spent his childhood amidst the scenes common to English public houses of that degraded time. By a fortunate chance, secured to him by the Bishop of Gloucester, Whitefield was enrolled as a scholar in an endowed school where he was prepared for Oxford. Entering Pembroke College in 1732, he earned his way by waiting upon the table of Fellows and gentlemen commoners. When he entered Oxford the Holy Club, of which John Wesley eventually became the leader, had already been organized and Whitefield became a member. The only spiritual oasis in the entire university, this little group nicknamed "Methodists" was a training school of vital religion, and under its influence young Whitefield, endowed as he was with a warm emotional nature, went through (1735) a vivid conversion experience. His conversion antedated those of both John and Charles Wesley. He was ordained deacon in the Established Church in 1736 and immediately began to supply churches in and about Oxford and London, at the same time offering himself as a missionary to Georgia, to take up the work there at which the Wesley brothers had failed.

His offer to go as a Georgia missionary was accepted, but his going out was delayed for more than a year and during that time he fairly leaped into fame as the greatest preacher of his time. In June, 1736, he states in his *Journal* that he has but one sermon and is praying that his ordination may be delayed, since he feels that he must have at least a hundred sermons before he begins to preach. But in a matter of weeks we find him delivering sermons day after

day in the leading churches of London and Bristol while vast crowds hang upon his words.

As place after place is demanding his presence, and as the English clergy vie with one another in urging him to occupy their pulpits, he writes in his *Journal*, "I began to grow a little popular." Later he comments after a preaching tour to Bristol, then the second city in England, "It is wonderful to see how the people hang upon the rails of the organ loft, climbed upon the leads of the church and made the church itself so hot with their breath that the steam would fall from the pillars like drops of rain." When he left Bristol at the end of five weeks of constant preaching he slipped out of the city in the small hours of the morning in order to avoid the great company that had intended to accompany him on horseback and in coaches. No city gave him such a hearing as did London. So dense were audiences which swarmed into the churches when he preached, he tells us that "one might, as it were, walk upon the people's heads, and thousands went away from the largest churches for want of room."

It would be strange indeed if such popular acclaim, coming as it did at the very beginning of Whitefield's career, had not turned his head. It is true there are indications that at times he was inflated by his popularity, an example is the bumptious letter he wrote his friend and patron Bishop Benson of Gloucester at this time. The wonder is that he was not ruined for life. But be it said to George Whitefield's everlasting credit that from the beginning of his remarkable ministry to its end, whether preaching in cottage, field, palace or cathedral, he preached what he believed to be the eternal verities; and without fear or favor he condemned sin and exalted righteousness.

Such was the youthful Whitefield who in February, 1738, set sail for America. From that day until his death in 1770 Whitefield was to cross the Atlantic thirteen times. And in those days crossing the ocean was no pleasure trip; few crossed the sea once; still fewer risked it a second time. His first American journey was very brief. Its purpose was to look over the lay of things and select a place for the location of his orphanage, which he was determined to establish. His return to England was for the purpose of completing his ordination and of raising funds for the American orphanage. His second journey to America, begun in August, 1739, marked the beginning of his first American evangelistic tour. Landing at Lewes, Delaware, he was soon in contact with the Tennents, then in the midst of the New Jersey revival. In Philadelphia he established contacts with Quakers, Baptists, and Presbyterians, being permitted at the same time to preach in Christ Church. In New York the Anglican Church was denied him, and here as a result he began field preaching in America. Returning to Philadelphia he preached to a throng of five thousand, and when he departed ten thousand heard his farewell sermon.

On his visits to Philadelphia he made the acquaintance of Benjamin Franklin, who solicited and received permission to print Whitefield's sermons, and from that time until the death of the eloquent preacher that friendship continued. An item appearing in the *South Carolina Gazette* for March 15, 1740, indicates the sweep of Whitefield's influence throughout the colonies after a year's preaching in America.

We hear from Philadelphia and New York that since Mr. Whitefield's preaching in those places, several week-

day lectures have been set up, which are much crowded, and that sermons, which used to be the greatest drug, are now the only books in demand.

By April, 1840, the Orphanage at Bethesda, Georgia, was under way and early in 1841 the buildings were completed and forty-nine children had been gathered under its care. The orphanage continued Whitefield's chief interest throughout the remainder of his life, and wherever he was, whether in the three kingdoms or journeying up and down in the thirteen colonies, he was continually calling its needs to the attention of his great audiences and taking collections for it. The effectiveness of Whitefield's appeals for the orphanage is well illustrated by an incident related by Franklin in his *Autobiography*. Franklin had not approved of the orphanage being located in far-away Georgia, thinking Philadelphia a more suitable place for it, and had resolved to give nothing toward its support. Listening to Whitefield preaching one day, he saw as the sermon neared its close that he was planning to end by an appeal for the orphanage. In spite of his earlier resolve to give nothing, Whitefield's eloquence so moved Franklin that when the offering was finally taken, he says, "I emptied my pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all."

Whitefield made five visits to New England. On the first, in the fall of 1741, he was well received everywhere and vast crowds hung upon his eloquent words. He preached at Harvard and Yale; he was welcomed in Boston; and when at Northampton he preached a number of times for Jonathan Edwards, he was responsible for starting a second revival wave. His third visit to America was from August, 1744, to June, 1748; his fourth from September, 1751, to March, 1754; his fifth from autumn of

1754 to May, 1755; the sixth from June, 1763, to July, 1765; and the last from September, 1769, to his death on September 30, 1770. On none of his subsequent tours of New England was he received as he had been on his first visit. Harvard and Yale closed their doors against him, but the common people continued to hear him gladly and he never lacked for an audience anywhere in the colonies.

When in England Whitefield made his headquarters in London where there were finally erected two large buildings for his use, one a large barn-like tabernacle on the edge of Moorfields, the other a more dignified chapel in Tottenham Court Road. To the tabernacle came the lowly and poor to hear the great preacher, while to the Tottenham Court chapel came the more fashionable people from London's west end. Be it said, however, that the preacher's message was not trimmed to suit the ears of his more fashionable hearers. But Whitefield's activities were by no means confined to London. He ranged over the whole of the three kingdoms. In Scotland multitudes were awakened under his preaching; he made frequent trips to Wales, where he continued to be received with love and gratitude. Ireland had a particular appeal to John Wesley, who visited the Emerald Isle forty-two times, but Whitefield visited the island but twice. On his second tour in 1767 he was attacked by a mob that showered him with volleys of stones, one of which struck him upon the head leaving a scar he bore to his grave.

Having begun field preaching in his early ministry at Kingswood near Bristol, Whitefield continued it throughout his life. He became persuaded that "Mounts are the best pulpits and the heavens the best sounding boards." A superb voice carrying an eloquence that virtually lifted

his hearers out of themselves, and a portable pulpit which could be taken apart and carried from place to place, were all the equipment he needed to stir vast multitudes on both sides of the Atlantic.

An interesting fact, and one which had considerable significance for the American churches, was that Whitefield eventually obtained, largely through the Countess of Huntingdon, a wide acquaintance among the English nobility. The Countess, one of the most remarkable women of her age, was of royal descent and moved freely in court circles. A woman of intense religious convictions, she had been interested in the Methodist movement from its beginning. Soon after young Whitefield came to her notice she became his patron and made him her domestic chaplain; through her he was introduced to many of the nobility of England and Scotland. Often he was invited to their palatial homes where he preached in their drawing rooms to fashionable gatherings. This of course accounts for the fact that when delegations from America came to the British Isles on money-raising enterprises they went at once to Whitefield, and through him they were introduced to his rich and noble friends. He it was who introduced Lord Dartmouth to Nathaniel Whitaker and Samson Occom, and thus it was that Dartmouth College received its name; he was likewise helpful to Samuel Davies and Gilbert Tennent in a similar enterprise for the College of New Jersey. And the new building which Benjamin Franklin and other friends had erected for him in Philadelphia came to be used as an academy; the academy eventually became the College of Philadelphia, which finally became the great University of Pennsylvania. So it was that

Whitefield exercised, indirectly at least, a large influence upon higher education in the American colonies.

But from the beginning of his active ministry to its end Whitefield was principally and always a religious awakener. Though a priest of the Church of England and appointed to succeed John Wesley as rector at Savannah, Georgia—the only parish which either Wesley or Whitefield ever held—his principal work was done, in America at least, among people outside the Anglican communion. Whitefield did not have a denominational hair in his head, but ranged up and down the American colonies stirring the multitudes who came to hear him. All the American churches, and all the English churches similarly, reaped the benefit from this harvest. By the time of his last visit to America Whitefield had become one of the best-known inter-colonial figures. He paid no more attention to colonial boundaries than he did to denominational differences; he was the great common denominator of all the colonial awakenings, supplying the principal unifying force which made of them one great movement.

He was not well when he set sail on September 4, 1769, for his thirteenth and last voyage to America. He came first to Georgia, where he spent the winter, starting northward in the spring; he arrived in Philadelphia in May, and slowly pushed on toward New England. He spent the whole of July in preaching excursions between New York and Albany and entered New England in August. His progress was one continued triumph and churches and homes were thrown open to receive him. As the end of the summer drew on, his old enemy the asthma gave him increasing trouble. When urged not to preach so often he replied, "I had rather wear out than rust out," and

on September 30, 1770, his wish came true, and he was buried under the pulpit of the Old South Presbyterian Church of Newburyport, Massachusetts. He had died in the parsonage of the Newburyport Church, the guest of his long time friend, Jonathan Parsons.

CHAPTER IV

REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS AND CONSTITUTION MAKERS

By the last quarter of the eighteenth century England's one-time feeble colonies, scattered along the Atlantic seaboard, had become strong and lusty children. One of the marks of England's success in her colonization of America was the fact that there came a time when her children, like all worth-while children, desired to set up housekeeping for themselves.

In the struggle for independence the American churches played an indirect though an important part. All the more influential colonial religious bodies, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Baptists, were largely self-governing, as were also several of the smaller sects; even the Anglican churches—outside the missions conducted by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel—though nominally under the control of the Bishop of London, were in reality self-governing through their lay vestries. As Edmund Burke pointed out in his famous *Speech on Conciliation with America*, the colonists had accustomed themselves to the freest debate on all religious questions, and so far had individualism developed in religion that even women were permitted to have opinions and it was said that every man's hat was his church.

In her revealing study of the *New England Clergy and the American Revolution*, Miss Alice M. Baldwin has

pointed out that the New England clergy had been stressing in their preaching the fundamental philosophy of the American Revolution for a hundred years before the Declaration of Independence. They had declared that just government was founded upon a compact; that civil liberty was a natural right; that those chosen to rule could exert no authority over the people beyond the limits imposed by the compact. Throughout the colonies the Great Awakening had deeply affected the thinking as well as the emotions of men. Whitefield and the other evangelists had stressed that there were certain fundamental divine laws which a Christian must first obey, and that men were justified in breaking any laws and rules which were contrary to the divine laws. The evangelists had taught also that all men shared alike in the privileges of the Gospel. The Presbyterians, constituted chiefly of the recent Scotch-Irish immigration, fell in naturally with the revolutionary party, while their American-trained clergy were in full sympathy with revolutionary principles. The Baptists, concerned as they were with their demand for the separation of church and state and for religious liberty, looked upon the Revolution as a golden opportunity to advance their cause. Only the Anglicans were seriously divided by the War for Independence. Although two-thirds of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were Anglicans, the largest number of loyalists were nevertheless to be found within the Episcopalian fold. Practically all the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were loyalists, as were also their recent converts to the church. On the other hand, in colonies such as Virginia where the "S. P. G." missionaries were few and where the clergy

were locally supported, sympathy with the colonial cause was general.

The period of the Revolution and the years immediately following "show the lowest low-water mark of the lowest ebb-tide of spiritual life in the history of the American church." Eight years of warfare, followed by a similar period of weak and faltering government, had an unsettling effect upon the minds of people generally. The principles coming out of the French Revolution and such popular books as Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason* were widely accepted by the younger generation, and religious leaders and the churches generally viewed with alarm the general decline in religious interest throughout the land.

The period following the Revolution was one of constitution-making in both church and state. Thus when religion was at its lowest vitality the American churches were under the necessity of breaking loose from their Old World connections and of establishing independent ecclesiastical organizations. It is in such periods as this that right leadership is of inestimable importance. The churches were wandering in the wilderness and were looking for a Moses to lead them out. Here we are to deal with the leadership of the American church at this time of crisis.

JOHN WITHERSPOON

That religious leader whose influence was larger in both the politics and religion of the time than that of any other single individual was John Witherspoon. He had come in 1768 from a Scotch Presbyterian pastorate in Paisley to assume the presidency of the College of New Jersey.

John Witherspoon was the eldest (baptized February 10, 1723) of six children born to the Reverend James Wither-

spoon and his wife, Anne Walker Witherspoon. The father was a graduate of Edinburgh University and for forty years the minister of the Scottish Kirk at Gifford; the mother was the daughter of the Reverend David Walker. Witherspoon's early training gained under his mother's instruction was not unusual for the time. At four he could read the Bible and repeat most of the New Testament and Watts' Psalms and Hymns. Entering the Grammar School at Haddington where John Knox and other famous Scots had received their early training, he was ready for the university at thirteen. At this time the University of Edinburgh was in a transition period; the buildings were wretched, but living was cheap and good and there were still some able professors. On February 23, 1739, when young Witherspoon was just past his sixteenth year, he successfully defended his Latin thesis *De mentis immortalitate* and received his Master of Arts degree. Planning to enter the ministry of the Scottish church he remained in the university for three additional years, when his theological studies came to an end and he was licensed to preach in 1743. He received and accepted a call to the small living of Bath in the Presbytery of Irvine.

John Witherspoon spent twenty years in the ministry of the Scottish church before coming to America, years of active participation in the conflicts and controversies of the time. By disposition he was bold and aggressive, ready to take sides on any issue whether in church or state. This tendency led him to the active support of the government when in the first year of his ministry the young Pretender invaded Scotland. Besides supporting his presbytery's resolution denouncing the young Pretender, Witherspoon was active in circulating a paper to raise funds to pay the ex-

pense of the local militia with whom he marched away to Glasgow. The exposure and strain of this experience left its permanent mark upon Witherspoon and ever after his nerves were easily disturbed.

Two years later (September 2, 1748) he was married to Elizabeth Montgomery who was two years his senior, and within fifteen years ten children were born to them, only five of whom were living at their coming to Princeton.

During the twenty years of John Witherspoon's active ministry in Scotland the Scottish church was divided into two dominant and contending parties. The Moderates were led by William Robertson, the historian and, later, principal of the University of Edinburgh; Hugh Blair, the critic and rhetorician; and a brilliant coterie of other intellectuals whose literary output makes the period one of the most fruitful in the intellectual history of Scotland. While not openly flouting orthodoxy, the Moderates ignored or glossed over the fundamental dogmas, their maxim being "Let sleeping dogmas lie." The lower standard of personal conduct of their ministers shocked the conservatives, who called them "paganized Christian divines." The Moderates stood also for the law passed in 1712 which placed the assignment of churches in the hands of patrons, a law particularly obnoxious to the fundamental principles of Presbyterian polity which placed the call in the hands of the congregation and the presbytery.

The Popular Party with which John Witherspoon became identified not only held to the stern orthodoxy of an older time but were stanch defenders of the right of the churches to call their own ministers. For at least ten years before he came to America Witherspoon was a

recognized champion of the Popular Party in its struggle to uphold the rights of the people. Thus in the Scottish church struggle he had reached a position identical with that of the Americans in their later struggle with the Crown.

In 1753 Witherspoon published anonymously in Glasgow a satire on the triumphant Moderates entitled *Ecclesiastical Characteristics*. It was the sensation of the hour and its author, though never openly acknowledging it, later tacitly admitted its authorship. In this biting skit he sets forth the thirteen maxims by which the Moderates conducted themselves; also their Athenian Creed beginning "I believe in the courtly and comely proportions of Dame Nature, and in Almighty Fate, her only parent and guardian," concluding with this stinging sarcasm: "What victories and triumphs shall be obtained over the stupid populace by forced settlements, which never have such a beautiful and orderly form as when furnished by soldiers, marching in comely array, with shining arms, a perfect image of the church-militant!"

The satire was a direct hit, and while the Moderates gnashed their teeth and called the unknown author all sorts of unchristian names, new editions—five in the first two years—came from the press. The burlesque was too good for its author to remain long obscure, and Witherspoon's increased popularity with the Popular Party as a result brought him a seat in the General Assembly of 1756 and membership on important committees. The same year he received a call to the important Low Church at Paisley. The presbytery, however, refused to grant the call on the ground of Witherspoon's alleged authorship of *Ecclesiastical Characteristics* which they considered harmful to re-

ligion. But an appeal to the Synod was successful and in 1757 he was settled at Paisley.

During the eleven years of his Paisley pastorate, Witherspoon's leadership of the Popular Party in the Assembly was increasingly recognized. Other calls also came, one to Dundee in 1762, another to Dublin in 1766, and in 1764 the University of St. Andrews conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. Though easily baited and loving an argument, Witherspoon's Scottish career was not one of constant wrangle as might be supposed. He was conscientious in his parish work and his grim religious views and stern morality made him an implacable foe of all frivolity. Such was the man to whom, out of a clear sky, came the summons to accept the responsibility of leadership in the new college at Princeton in the far-away province of New Jersey.

There was still a considerable amount of controversy in American Presbyterianism between the old and new side groups when Dr. Samuel Finley, fifth president of the College of New Jersey, died on July 17, 1766. In securing his successor the trustees were anxious to find a president whose leadership would be recognized by both parties. A president from across the Atlantic would, of course, have a great advantage over an American in accomplishing this end. Who suggested Witherspoon is not known, but evidently his career since the publication of *Ecclesiastical Characteristics* was known and admired in America. On November 19, 1766, the trustees of the college chose him president, the call being delivered by Richard Stockton, one of the trustees then in London on business.

But it was one thing to elect Witherspoon to the presidency of the little American college in New Jersey and

quite another thing to persuade him to accept. Stockton found himself under the necessity of describing the American scene and the importance of the college, for he found that neither Witherspoon nor his friends had "any Tolerable idea" of America. After Witherspoon had been persuaded to favor acceptance Mrs. Witherspoon could not be persuaded. Like all quiet, home-loving wives, Mrs. Witherspoon disliked change of abode, and the thoughts of the wide Atlantic separating her from her family and the graves of her children made it difficult to win her approval. But, after a letter had been sent declining the position, Dr. Benjamin Rush visited Paisley and talked away Mrs. Witherspoon's fears, finally winning her consent. Meanwhile, Samuel Blair had been selected for the presidency, but when word came that the Scottish divine was now willing to accept, Blair gave way, and on August 7, 1768, the Witherspools landed in Philadelphia.

The coming of the Witherspools to Princeton caused a flutter of excitement among American Presbyterians. On their way out from Philadelphia they were greeted at Trenton by some trustees, and as they neared Princeton, other ladies and gentlemen, besides the students and the entire faculty (consisting of William Tennent, Jr., the vice-president, and the three tutors, one of whom was Jonathan Edwards the Younger), came to meet them. The new president found the buildings better-looking than anything at the University of Edinburgh, and the college in good condition. Hardly was the president's family settled in the president's house at the northwest corner of the "yard" before he had begun the never-ending struggle for more money and more students. Within a few weeks of his arrival he found a way of reducing college expenses and,

of far greater significance for the history of higher education in America, he announced an arrangement whereby graduate courses should be offered for those desiring to continue their studies after graduation.

Early in his administration Witherspoon took an extended trip through New England where he noted the general well-being of the people in contrast to the sordid wretchedness and rags of so many in Scotland. The absence of beggars, the sweet, clear air, the vast extent of prosperous farm lands, the self-reliance of the people, were having their immediate influence in making of John Witherspoon an American. Although proud of their English home and copying English fashions, he found that the Americans had developed their own ideas of representative government, and he heard a great deal on his New England journey about grievances, non-importation agreements, and liberty. He found Princeton also a center of Americanism and of growing revolutionary feeling. Many of the student orations delivered at commencements had a strong flavor of politics when topics such as "Civil Liberty" and "Patriotism" were discussed.

Back from his New England tour, Witherspoon was soon planning a trip into Virginia where he collected funds and made new friendships. Here he met the Madisons, the Lees, and the Washingtons. In 1769 young James Madison entered Princeton and throughout the southern colonies others were coming up to study there, so that the College of New Jersey was soon the principal intercolonial institution of learning in America.

Witherspoon had been chosen president largely because of ecclesiastical considerations and he was soon exerting a widespread influence in Presbyterian councils. On his first

attendance at the Synod he was appointed on important committees, and year by year thereafter his leadership was increasingly recognized. He was a frequent member of the annual convention of Congregational and Presbyterian churches which met from 1766 to 1776, and in 1773 was its chairman.

At first Witherspoon was silent as to his own political sentiments, but everything was conducive to identification with the patriot cause, and by 1774 he had taken his place among the revolutionary leaders of New Jersey. In that year he was appointed a member of the committee of correspondence of Somerset County and the next year he became its chairman. He was a member also of the New Jersey Convention of July, 1774. It was in this year that he wrote his essay *Thoughts on Liberty* which Collins suggests marks the completion of his Americanization. Though not a delegate to the first Continental Congress he could not resist going up to Philadelphia during its sessions. In 1776 he became a member of the second Continental Congress and during the five years of his service was New Jersey's most influential member of that body. Entering the Congress just at the time discussion of independence was at its height, he threw his influence on the side of an immediate declaration, stating that in his judgment the country was not only ripe for independence but was in danger of becoming rotten for want of it if its declaration were longer delayed. When finally the declaration was drawn he was among the signers.

During the course of the War he was made a member of several committees, three of which were of prime importance, the Board of War, Foreign Affairs, and the Committee on Finance. To this latter committee he was ap-

pointed in 1778, and after the second issue of paper money, he led the opposition to further emissions, hazarding his popularity by the vigor of his arguments. Though rendering notable service as a member of the Congress, Witherspoon's greatest contribution during the struggle for independence was made through his writings. Himself a man of deep passions, he set an example of calm and reasoned patriotism. In a sermon preached at Princeton on May 17, 1776, on the occasion of the general fast appointed by the Congress, he gave utterance to a calm and striking statement of the reasons for America's demand of the right to control her own affairs. It was the first time he had introduced politics into the pulpit. He deprecated railing at the King or his ministers or Parliament and urged his hearers to maintain purity of principles and prudence of conduct. He warned them that the acquisition of independence was not everything; that shallow and anarchical politics, unscrupulous partisanship, incompetence, selfishness, and disregard of moral obligations were greater perils than red-coats and Hessians. It was indeed fortunate for the American cause that such a clear-headed thinker and expert in "popular expression" should have identified himself so fully with the party favoring independence.

Naturally Witherspoon was hated and feared by the American Tories, as indicated in the doggerel of the Tory rector of St. Mary's parish, Burlington, New Jersey:

Known in the pulpit by seditious toils,
Grown into consequence by civil broils,
Three times he tried, and miserably failed,
To upset the laws—the fourth prevailed.

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Meanwhile unhappy Jersey mourns her thrall,
 Ordained by vilest of the vile to fall;
 To fall by Witherspoon!—O name the curse
 Of sound religion and disgrace of verse.

I've known him seek the dungeon dark as night,
 Imprisoned Tories to convert, or fright;
 Whilst to myself I've hummed, in dismal tune,
 I'd rather be a dog than Witherspoon.
 Be patient, reader—for the issue trust;
 His day will come—remember, Heaven is just.

In the winter of 1782 Witherspoon returned to Princeton, to find the funds of the college cut in half, the student body but a fourth of its former size, the building in a half-ruined condition with no funds with which to proceed with repairs. He was now sixty years of age, with ten years of active service before him. His own personal affairs were in confusion and, in fact, remained so throughout the remainder of his life, proving a plague to those who settled his estate. The college enrollment was soon brought to a more or less normal condition, but the physical appearance of the plant evidenced its poverty. Every effort to collect money sufficient to put it in better shape had failed. Against his better judgment, Dr. Witherspoon with the Hon. Joseph Reed of Pennsylvania went to Great Britain in 1783 to raise funds, but as might be expected, it was no time to attempt such an undertaking and it proved a dreary failure.

The summer before this journey to England, Congress had moved to Princeton, frightened away from Philadelphia by a band of mutinous soldiers, and for a number of weeks held its session in Nassau Hall. In August,

General Washington was summoned to Princeton, and President Witherspoon's cup of pride was filled to have him occupy a seat on the platform at the ensuing commencement.

The greatest work of John Witherspoon in these last ten years, however, was not in connection with the College of New Jersey, nor in the realm of politics, but rather as the leader in formulating a national organization for American Presbyterianism. This work began at the meeting of the Synod in 1785 and was completed in 1789. It was Witherspoon who proposed breaking up the Synod into three or more synods and the forming of a General Assembly. In 1786 he headed a committee to prepare a book of discipline and government which two years later was adopted, together with the confession of faith, the two catechisms, and the directory for worship, the latter being largely the work of Witherspoon himself. On the third Tuesday in May, 1789, at the second Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, the first meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America was held. John Witherspoon was its presiding officer until a moderator was elected and it was he who preached the opening sermon.

All this was taking place in Philadelphia while the Constitution of the United States was being formulated; thus simultaneously in church and nation the work of nationalization was under way.

Five years later John Witherspoon was dead (November 15), having performed his last college duties on September 25, 1794.

The impelling philosophy of John Witherspoon was one of usefulness to his day and generation. What came

to him in the way of fame or position was none of his seeking. His leadership in both Scotland and America were to him inevitable calls to serve his fellow men. His chosen work was that of a minister and an educator and these tasks he never put down as long as life lasted.

Manasseh Cutler who heard him preach in New York in 1787 described him as "an intolerably homely old Scotchman," with a burr difficult to understand without the closest attention. Although he had none of the arts of the orator the arrangement of his material was so admirable and his ideas so new that he always gained the close attention of those who sat under his ministrations.

Directly, and indirectly through his students, John Witherspoon exercised perhaps the largest religious and educational influence of any single individual of his generation in America, while his leadership in church and state in a period of transition may truthfully be termed indispensable.

WILLIAM WHITE

Of all the American churches the Episcopalian undoubtedly suffered most as a result of the Revolution. Chiefly this was because it had a larger proportion of loyalists among its clergy and membership than had any of the other American religious bodies. Most of the S. P. G. missionaries, who were to a large degree in charge of the Episcopal churches outside Virginia and Maryland, were loyalist partly because any suspicion of disloyalty would have brought their immediate dismissal, and also because they were mostly High Churchmen and therefore particularly attached to the Crown. And as they worked generally in territory hostile to them, they would naturally be out of sympathy with the majority sentiment of

the region. Geographically speaking, the Episcopal clergy of New England were generally loyalist; in the middle colonies they were divided, but mostly loyalist; in the South, except where the work was carried on by missionaries, the prevailing sentiment was favorable to the American cause.

On the whole the loyalist Episcopal clergy were compelled to leave their parishes during the course of the Revolution. Some sought refuge in New York City which was held by the British to the end of the War. Others went to Canada, and still others fled to England. This situation could not but leave the American Episcopalians in a sad plight, especially in view of the fact that religion generally was at a low ebb as a result of other influences. Besides all this there was the shock attending disestablishment in such states as Virginia and Maryland, entailing the loss of the glebes. Moreover, they were cut off from any Episcopal supervision, since even the shadowy jurisdiction of the Bishop of London was now at an end, and the chance of securing bishops of their own seemed remote. The dissenters had been gaining rapidly, too, largely as a result of the great revivals in Virginia and Maryland, for at least two decades previous to the War, and with disestablishment many from the lower classes who formerly held to the establishment now left it for the more congenial dissenting bodies. Nor was there any great loyalty to the church on the part of the wealthier class, since many of them were tainted with Deism or held to the non-Christian or anti-Christian notions generally associated with the Revolutionary philosophy of the eighteenth century.

Compelled to reorganize from top to bottom in a time of confusion and faltering loyalties, the Episcopalians were

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in need of wise, broadminded, and kindly leadership which could draw together the divergent elements of the distracted church. More than by any other this leadership was furnished by William White, rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, and the first Bishop of Pennsylvania.

Thomas White, a native of London, came to America at the age of sixteen (1721) and was apprenticed to the clerk of the county of Baltimore in Maryland. When his term of apprenticeship expired he became deputy clerk and, having previously taken up privately the study of law, began the practice of that profession. Fortunate land ventures brought him wealth and influence and he was appointed colonel of militia. By his first wife, the daughter of Colonel Edward Hall, a man of extensive property, he had two daughters. At forty-two he moved to Philadelphia, his first wife having died, and shortly afterward married Esther Hewlings, the widow of John Newman. By this second marriage there were two children, William (April 4, 1748) and Mary, one year younger, who became the wife of Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution.

Educated entirely in his native city, William White was ready to enter the College of Philadelphia at thirteen, but his father wisely delayed his entrance for another year, and he was graduated at seventeen. The college at that time was presided over by Dr. William Smith as provost, whose consecration as Bishop of Maryland White was later to oppose, though he entertained a high regard for Dr. Smith's talents as a teacher.

From earliest childhood young William had been drawn to the ministry, but it was a visit of George Whitefield to Philadelphia in 1770, causing religion "to be more than

commonly a subject of conversation" which finally fixed his determination to devote his life to the church. The ministers of the two Episcopal churches in Philadelphia, Dr. Richard Peters and his assistant Mr. Jacob Duché, interested themselves in young White and directed his studies in theology and general literature, and in October, 1770, he embarked for England with recommendations for holy orders. After examination by the chaplain of the Bishop of London, he was ordained Deacon by the Bishop of Norwich. He was too young to receive Priest's orders and he remained in England for about a year and a half, spending most of his time with his father's sisters who treated him with consideration and affection. This lengthy stay in England gave him the opportunity to visit Oxford and to meet many of the English clergy, as well as Dr. Samuel Johnson and Dr. Goldsmith. Finally, having reached the required age, he was ordained Priest by the Bishop of London in June, 1772, and immediately thereafter embarked for America.

On his return to Philadelphia, White was chosen assistant minister of Christ Church and St. Peter's (the congregations were united by charter in 1765). On the matter of salary he wrote Dr. Peters: "I shall always be satisfied with what they can afford to offer me from their regular funds, and not expect to receive any part of what may be raised in some new way." And from this time forward until his death the question of salary was never again raised. This indifference to money was, of course, due to the fact that his father had left him a substantial estate, and even though it was greatly reduced as a result of the depreciation of the currency during the Revolution, there was always enough to give him a comfortable support.

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In February, 1774, he was married to the daughter of an ex-mayor of Philadelphia, Miss Mary Harrison, whose family were members of Christ Church and to whom young White had long been attached. Of this union there were eight children and after the death of Mrs. White in 1797 he never remarried, though he maintained his home to the end of his life, taking great delight in his children and grandchildren.

The outbreak of the Revolution brought to an end the even tenor of young White's ministry and soon compelled him to make the momentous decision as to his attitude toward resistance. His natural tendency, he tells us, would have been toward submission together with a continued stand for American rights; but once his countrymen had determined on another course he was conscientiously led to take their side, though he opposed making the ministry instrumental to the War.

Just at the outbreak of the War, Dr. Peters retired because of age and Mr. Duché, a native Philadelphian, took his place. Duché was at first an outspoken Whig and gained large popularity by his eloquent support of the American cause; he was the first chaplain of the Continental Congress. When, however, the British captured Philadelphia, he was thrown into prison and, despairing of the cause, experienced a complete change of heart and on the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British fled to England.

William White took a very different course. On the approach of the British in September, 1777, he left Philadelphia with his family for the home of his brother-in-law in Maryland. While en route he was informed, at a small village, of his election as joint chaplain of the

Congress with Dr. George Duffield of the Presbyterian Church. After considering for a few moments, he turned his horses' heads toward Yorktown whence Congress had fled and remained there until the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British the next year. Duché having fled, White was now made the rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's. He remained the chaplain of Congress as long as it sat in Philadelphia and when that city became the seat of the national government with the inauguration of Washington Dr. White again became chaplain of Congress. Though never a rabid patriot White continued to maintain his political opinions with moderation, attempting at the same time to administer the affairs of the church without regard to political opinions.

As the War neared its close, he was naturally concerned for the future of the Episcopal Church and prepared a pamphlet entitled *The Case of the Episcopal Churches Considered* which was published anonymously in August, 1782. Here he advocated the organization of the American Episcopal churches as an independent spiritual jurisdiction entirely free of state control, the laity to have equal share with the clergy in its government. Since there seemed no immediate chance of securing bishops, he suggested permanent superintending ministers over small districts, who with other clergymen were to exercise powers of ordination and discipline. He also proposed a general convention of the whole church, to meet every three years and to be composed of clergy and laity in equal numbers. It is to be noted how fully these suggestions reflected the lessons learned in the American Revolution, especially in regard to a free church in a free state, and lay representation. And though misunderstood, especially as to its sug-

gestions for a temporary non-episcopal government, the pamphlet exercised a determining influence in the formation of the government finally adopted.

Meanwhile, the clergy of Connecticut, who were largely native American and had been Tory in their sympathies, met to consider the matter of the future church in America. They were distrustful of White because of his suggestion of a non-episcopal government, and, without his knowledge, chose one of their number, Samuel Seabury, Jr., to go to England and attempt to obtain consecration as a bishop for America. When his plea for consecration was rejected by the English bishops, Seabury turned to the nonjuring bishops of Scotland, and his consecration followed on November 14, 1784. He returned immediately to Connecticut to attempt the organization of the New England Episcopal churches.

William White's method of procedure was in direct contrast to that of Seabury. Seabury and his associates thought that the first thing necessary was to obtain the episcopate; White, on the other hand, was persuaded that it was more important to unite the divergent elements into an organization, so that there would be a body over which a bishop might be placed once consecration was secured, a body on whose authority they could depend in their application for consecration. And such was the procedure now set in motion under White's leadership.

The first step was taken at New Brunswick, New Jersey, in May, 1784, when a few clergymen and laymen from New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania met and created committees to carry on correspondence looking toward rehabilitation of the church. This was followed by a meeting in New York in the following autumn at which

the middle states and Maryland were represented. Maryland, under the leadership of William Smith, had already taken steps toward organizing the church in that state, had chosen Smith as their bishop, and now joined the middle states in their plans for a national organization. The New York meeting laid down certain general principles to be recommended to the states, following largely Dr. White's earlier suggestions, and called for the first meeting of the General Convention to meet at Philadelphia on September 25, 1785. Here, under White's direction, was blocked out the course to be taken in the formation of the constitution, the liturgy, articles of religion, and the canons, and steps were taken to secure the consecration of bishops from the English line.

Following the suggestions of the convention, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia elected bishops, the episcopacy in Pennsylvania falling to White. Samuel Provoost, rector of Trinity Church, was the choice of New York, while David Griffith of Fairfax parish, one of the leading patriots among the Virginia clergy, was chosen Bishop of Virginia. The following year (1786) the convention placed their approval on the three bishops elected, refusing, however, to authorize the consecration of bishop-elect Smith of Maryland. Now with a feeble but organized church behind them, White and Provoost journeyed to England—Griffith was prevented from going by lack of funds—where, on February 4, 1787, their consecration took place in Lambeth Chapel, and the following April saw them back in America.

The problem now was to bring the church in Connecticut, over which Bishop Seabury presided, into union with them. This was happily accomplished at the Convention

of 1789. In all of the negotiations leading up to this result William White was throughout the recognized leader.

Besides his duties as Bishop of Pennsylvania Dr. White retained the rectorship of Christ and St. Peter's churches until his death and had the love and friendship of the many distinguished members and worshipers at Christ Church, including Washington, Franklin, and Robert Morris, as well as that of the many humble worshipers. When humble people doffed their hats to him on meeting him in the street, he always took off his hat also, explaining to his little grandson who inquired why he did it, "Would you have them polite to me, and I not to them?"

Not the least of William White's contributions to the church was that which he made as an inspirer of young men. As the presiding bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States for forty-nine years, he touched a host of young men throughout the church. For the churches of his own diocese and especially for the churches of Philadelphia he had the gift of selecting exceedingly talented assistants. Among them were Jackson Kemper, who became the first missionary bishop and the pioneer of the church in the Northwest; William A. Muhlenberg, the father of the broad church movement in America; and John Henry Hobart, later to become Bishop of New York and the father of the high church movement. Among Bishop White's papers is a list of twenty-six bishops consecrated by him. The first on the list is Robert Smith of South Carolina, September 4, 1795, and the last is Jackson Kemper, February 25, 1835.

Six feet in height, with robust frame, and always in excellent health and spirits, William White was beloved by those of all denominations. Though a stanch churchman,

he always showed deference for the opinion of others, and even in his controversial writings there was never a trace of bitterness or unfairness. Theologically he was decidedly anti-Calvinistic: in his churchmanship he was low-church of the older type, opposing extemporaneous prayer and deviations from the ritual, but at the same time sternly rejecting the priestly doctrine. He never sought recognition nor did he ever betray any sense of his own consequence. He exercised more influence as a man and an administrator than as a preacher, for he lacked distinction in style, and his delivery was monotonous.

He furnished the type of leadership during his long life which was most suited to the peculiar needs of the Episcopal Church in the early years after independence. The church, in the minds of many people, was still under suspicion, and an aggressive leadership would have increased the alienation. When he was chosen a bishop his church was looked upon as an importation, something foreign to American soil: when he died it had become definitely and thoroughly American. He has been described as the most comprehensive of all the ecclesiastical leaders of the Episcopal Church; for he constantly stood for the whole church and steadfastly refused to be identified with any party in it.

FRANCIS ASBURY

The year following the arrival of John Witherspoon in America John Wesley sent (1769) his first official missionaries to the English colonies.

Methodism had been introduced into the American colonies by two lay preachers from Ireland, Robert Strawbridge and Philip Embury, who had come to America, as did the vast majority of the eighteenth-century Irish, pri-

marily for economic reasons. Strawbridge had come to the Maryland frontier where he took up a farm near Sam's Creek in Frederick County; Embury, with several of his relatives, took up residence in the city of New York where he tried various occupations, though the group had come with the establishment of a linen industry in view. By 1766 two Methodist classes had been established, one in Maryland and the other in New York. Captain Thomas Webb of the British Army, barracks officer at Albany, one of Wesley's own converts and withal a local preacher of exceptional gifts, soon joined himself to the little Methodist class in New York; and by 1768, largely under his leadership, they had erected a chapel. Captain Webb and other lay preachers who now began to appear in America were busy also carrying the Methodist gospel to outlying places, while in Maryland and Virginia Robert Strawbridge was equally busy raising up native preachers who were soon journeying to and fro over a large territory preaching and organizing classes wherever opportunity offered. It was thus that Methodism was first planted on American soil.

John Wesley was soon made aware of what was being done in America by these lay preachers, and from 1768 onward was receiving numerous appeals to send helpers. One such appeal came from Karl Magnus von Wrangel, a chaplain of the King of Sweden who had been in America as provost of the Swedish Lutheran churches on the Delaware: returning to Sweden in October, 1768, he had stopped off in England where he visited John Wesley in Bristol. Other appeals came direct from American Methodists. The net result was the sending of his first two official representatives to America, Joseph Pilmoor and Richard Boardman, who arrived in Philadelphia in the autumn of

1769. Two years later came two other missionaries, Francis Asbury and Richard Wright, and by 1774 four others had arrived, making eight all told. These missionaries centered their activities very largely in the middle colonies, though George Shadford and Thomas Rankin rendered good service in Virginia and Maryland where they worked in co-operation with Devereux Jarratt, the evangelical rector of Bath parish in Dinwiddie County. But by 1778 all of Wesley's official missionaries had departed except Francis Asbury, who had determined to throw in his lot with the Americans.

Francis Asbury, the son of humble peasants, Joseph Asbury and Elizabeth Rogers, was born four miles from the thriving city of Birmingham in Staffordshire, where his father was employed on two large estates as a gardener. His birth date is either the 20th or the 21st of August, 1745. Aside from a few respectful allusions on the part of his famous son we have scant knowledge of the elder Asbury. It was from his mother (as in the case of John Wesley also) that Francis Asbury received his strong moral and religious bent and his early religious training. She was of Welsh stock, a woman of keen emotional susceptibility, but of exceptional intelligence for her station. The loss of an only daughter in infancy had thrown her into the deepest melancholy for a number of years, but a definite religious experience brought her consolation and thenceforward she found her chief joy in associating with religious people and in attending religious services. Both parents were faithful members of the Established Church, so that the son was raised in a distinctly religious home atmosphere where there was "family reading and prayer."

Francis was sent to school at an early age, and was read-

ing the Bible between his sixth and seventh year. The boy's father was anxious to keep his only son in school, but the brutal system of pedagogy then in vogue and his churlish schoolmaster instilled such a fear and dread into the mild, religious youth that anything seemed preferable to school. Accordingly he left his studies at about eleven years of age to live in the home of a wealthy but ungodly family in the parish. No doubt he acquired in the great house—though his position was only that of a servant—an ease of manner and a certain poise which later stood him in good stead when as a bishop he was entertained in some of the aristocratic homes in America. After about a year in service young Asbury was apprenticed to a Methodist blacksmith in charge of the smithy of a large forge near the Asbury home, and here he served for six and a half years.

Already his religious life had begun to develop under his mother's direction and example, and under that of a "pious man not a Methodist" who had moved into the neighborhood and whom his mother invited into their home. Under these influences young Asbury was awakened when about fourteen years of age. He now longed for greater spiritual assistance than could be had from the "blind priest" of the parish church and he began attending a neighboring church where he heard evangelical preaching. Here for the first time he heard of the Methodists, and soon he was attending their meetings at Wednesbury where the preacher had no prayer book and, stranger still, no sermon book, while the people knelt in prayer and said Amen. From this time on, Asbury's religious progress was rapid. Methodist meetings began to be held in the homes of the neighbors as well as in his father's house, and it was not long before the boy was taking a leading part. First he

became an exhorter, then a class leader, then he was preaching, though not at first in Methodist meeting houses. The next step was to the local preacher's status, "the humble and willing servant of any and of every preacher that called on me by night or by day," his preaching taking him into several neighboring counties. After serving for about five years as a local preacher, he went up to London at the age of twenty-one, to be admitted to the Wesleyan Conference.

There followed four years of preaching in several of the Methodist circuits in England, at the end of which Francis Asbury together with Richard Wright volunteered to go to America. For half a year he had been thinking of this step and Wesley's appeal before the conference of 1771 came to him as a providential call. He offered himself and was accepted. The new Methodist missionaries set sail September 4, 1771, and on October 27 landed in Philadelphia; in the evening the two were brought "to a large church" (St. George's) where Joseph Pilmoor preached to a "considerable congregation." Such was Asbury's introduction to America.

"To live to God and bring others so to do" was the motive for coming to America set down by Asbury in his *Journal*, which he began to keep the day he set sail and which he continued to within five months of his death. It has been suggested that an attachment to a young lady of whom his mother disapproved might have made him the more willing to leave; and the fact that he had been reprimanded for playing the dictator and for not obeying the rules in his circuits may have supported his feeling that America presented opportunities for leadership not to be found in England.

The significance of Asbury's work in America prior to

the Revolution may be summed up in the statement that it was he more than anyone else who was responsible for the establishment of the circuit system and the rigid discipline without which Methodism could not have achieved a place of importance in the New World. At the time of his arrival in America the circuit system had been practically abandoned by Boardman and Pilmoor, while in Maryland and Virginia Strawbridge and his native helpers, though exceedingly active, were heedless of discipline and inattentive to organization. Asbury began at once to introduce these two elements into the growing Methodist work, and at the expense of popularity achieved his purpose. When Wesley's other missionaries departed for England, Asbury, whose vision was far wider than that of the others, determined to remain. Though fully decided to cast in his lot with the Americans, Asbury gave little attention to the political events leading up to the Revolution, nor would he identify himself actively with the War for Independence. His chief concern was to save souls. In fact he, with others of the early Methodist preachers, was inclined to pacifism. Jesse Lee, for instance, one of the early native Virginia Methodist preachers, refused to bear arms and was imprisoned because of his refusal. Asbury refused to take the oath of allegiance required in Maryland, and for eighteen months was confined to the state of Delaware where the oath was not required of clergymen.

During the course of the Revolution Asbury succeeded in upholding John Wesley's authority among American Methodists in spite of the fact that Wesley had identified himself with the bitter opponents of the Americans, and was active in assailing them in sermons and pamphlets. A movement to disregard Wesley's authority gained headway

in Virginia in 1779-1780 under the leadership of some of the native Virginia preachers who had ordained one another at Fluvanna in 1779 to administer the ordinances. This independent movement which threatened to split Methodist forces in America was successfully overcome by Asbury, and by the end of the War he was the undisputed leader of all the Methodists in the country.

Though opposed to American independence, John Wesley saw the necessity of creating a more effective organization for the American Methodists, once independence had been achieved. They were without the sacraments, as none of the Methodist preachers were ordained clergymen, and none of the Anglican clergy, except Jarratt in Virginia, would co-operate with them. An appeal to the Bishop of London to ordain one of Wesley's own men for America brought no response. Something had to be done and that quickly. For many years Wesley had been persuaded that in the primitive church bishops and presbyters were essentially one order. He believed that the administration of the sacraments by unordained men was a sin not to be tolerated. Facing the critical American situation he determined to act and in September, 1784, he, with the assistance of two other Anglican clergymen, ordained two of his preachers, Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey, to go and serve the desolate sheep across the Atlantic. He also conferred upon Dr. Thomas Coke, already an ordained Anglican clergyman, episcopal powers, or at least the power of ordaining others. Coke, Whatcoat, and Vasey now proceeded to America with documents from John Wesley, instructing them to organize a Methodist church, and appointing Francis Asbury to be joint superintendent with Coke over the American Methodist societies.

Dr. Coke met Asbury at Barratt's Chapel in Delaware where he informed him of Wesley's plans. Coke assumed that he himself was to be the directing spirit in carrying out Wesley's instructions, but Asbury at once took over affairs. He refused to receive his appointment as superintendent from Wesley, knowing, no doubt, that the American preachers would decline to recognize Wesley's authority, and at Asbury's suggestion a conference of all American preachers was called to meet at Baltimore on December 24, 1784. Here, in what is known as the Christmas Conference, was organized, in a session lasting eleven days, the Methodist Episcopal Church. Asbury was elected superintendent and ordained in three successive days deacon, elder, and bishop, though the latter title was not assumed until later. When Wesley heard of the assumption of the title of bishop by Coke and Asbury he was greatly distressed and wrote Asbury a sharp letter in protest. Articles of religion were adopted which Wesley had formulated from the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, together with his Sunday service and hymns. In other words the American Methodists became a full-fledged church and were the first American religious body to receive a national organization.

Though Asbury and Coke were joint superintendents, it was Asbury who was actually in control. The American Methodists were in no mood to accept direction from a British subject, and Coke's frequent absences from the country worked against anything like an equal division of the work. From the start Asbury assumed almost autocratic powers in his stationing of the preachers, paying little heed to their requests. He seldom or never asked advice, though he eagerly sought all the information available.

Even when Coke was in attendance at a conference it was Asbury who always made the appointments. In 1800, because of Asbury's ill health, Richard Whatcoat was chosen bishop, and after his death (1806), William McKendree was elected (1808), but Asbury always insisted on calling them his assistants, though theoretically their authority was equal to his, and as long as Asbury lived neither of them presided independently, except rarely, at a conference.

The following is a typical month in the life of Francis Asbury.

In the late summer of 1809, traveling with Martin Boehm, the bishop passed through Pennsylvania and western Virginia into Ohio on his way to meet the Western Conference which was to convene at Cincinnati on September 30. He was riding in a carriage, but the roads were "disagreeable," and while "tugging forward" in the Wills Creek bottom "*crack* went the breakband and *crack* went the shaft." At Springfield he preached to four hundred people. At Zanesville, "named after Colonel Zane, who so kindly entertained us at Wheeling," Boehm preached. On September 3, Bishop Asbury preached at the "elegant new court-house in New Lancaster" and on Saturday they were entertained at the home of Dr. Tiffin, a Methodist local preacher and the first elected governor of Ohio. He was charmed at the view from Dr. Tiffin's house, "but," he says, "these long talks about land and politics suit me not; I take little interest in either subject; O Lord, give me souls, and keep me holy!"

He found the valley of the Little and Great Miami "occupied by New Lights, Shakers, Methodists—and sinners to be sure." Sunday the twenty-third he preached in the "new chapel at Milford." Monday was filled with reading and

writing. Thursday, he says, "Fair Cincinnati brought us up." Here he found the church enlarged and the society increased.

The bishop was particularly impressed with the number of camp-meetings being held in the West that year; "Muskingum district," he says, "will have four camp-meetings" with attendance ranging from one to three thousand; "In Miami seventeen camp-meetings in the year; in Scioto circuit four; Hockhocking two; Deer Creek two; Mad River three; Whitewater two; Cincinnati two; and White two; . . . seventeen camp-meetings for the Indiana district. . . . More of camp-meetings—I hear and see the great effects produced by them, and this year there will be more than ever."

At the Conference in Cincinnati there were three thousand people on the ground. It closed on Sabbath, October 8, the members separated on Monday, and Bishop Asbury and his traveling companion turned their faces toward Kentucky, Tennessee, and thence over the mountains into South Carolina.

That Asbury's absolute control led to the greater effectiveness of the Methodist forces there can be little doubt. There is also no doubt but that his chief object was to promote the Kingdom of God and the salvation of souls. Asbury never married, never had a home. His indomitable will drove him on, although at no time in later life was he a well man. Even when too weak to get in or out of his sulky without being lifted, he insisted on keeping to the road, and he died at Spottsylvania, Virginia, on March 31, 1816, while on his way to Baltimore where the General Conference was to meet. During his American ministry he had preached more than sixteen thousand five hundred

sermons, ordained more than four thousand preachers, and traveled on horseback or in carriages two hundred and seventy thousand miles.

A man of rather slight build, Francis Asbury was five feet nine inches tall. He had a fine forehead and in his later years white locks which fell over his shoulders, adding to his venerable and dignified appearance. He was a constant reader, acquainted himself with an amazing number of books for one so constantly on the road. He was a good preacher, his material always in orderly arrangement, but there is no evidence that he aroused his congregations to great emotional heights. Asbury's place in history is that of an organizer. He was the field marshal of a mobile army, waging a never-ending campaign for righteousness on every American frontier.

JOHN CARROLL

The Chargé d'Affaires to the United States, Barbé-Marboise, writing in March, 1785, to Vergennes, the French Prime Minister, reported that there were in the new republic 32,500 Roman Catholics. Twenty thousand, he estimated, were in the state of Maryland, of whom eight thousand were slaves; in the states south of Maryland were two thousand five hundred; in New England there were not more than six hundred; New York and New Jersey had together not more than seventeen hundred; in Delaware and Pennsylvania, where Quaker toleration prevailed, there were about seven thousand seven hundred, while between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi, located in the old French settlements on the Mississippi and the Wabash, were some twelve thousand French Catholics.

Catholics had come to the American colonies in spite of

the fact that they were not wanted. Everywhere there were legal discriminations against them. In the Quaker colonies alone the authorities refused to permit any interference with Catholic worship either public or private, though even here there had been placed on the statute books a series of repressive naturalization laws in conformity with the British policy. The relatively large Catholic population of Maryland was of course due to that colony's early welcome to Catholics, but with the establishment of the Anglican Church in 1692, the same type of discriminatory legislation was passed against Catholics as was to be found in all the other colonies. Though more numerous there than anywhere else, they were "in a dejected and despised condition," unable to hold public office, though there was a sort of tacit toleration.

At the close of the colonial period there were between forty and fifty congregations of Catholics in the United States, all of them presided over by from twenty to twenty-five ex-Jesuit priests. From the time of James II the Vicars-Apostolic of London had exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all the colonies and possessions under British rule. The suppression of the Jesuits in the year 1773 caused little change in the American colonies at least for the time being. They continued to recognize the authority of Father John Lewis, the last Jesuit Superior, while the work among the Catholic population continued much as before.

The opening of the War for Independence, strange as it may seem, found the American Catholics predominantly on the side of the Americans. This was in spite of the fact that in its early aspects the Revolution was to a certain extent an anti-Catholic movement. The passage of the Quebec

Act, which the colonists considered one of the coercive measures, gave rise to the cry "Protestantism in danger!" which was heard particularly in New England and was used to win the support of the various Protestant groups. Perhaps the best explanation of Catholic support of the American cause was their hope that independence, once won, would bring in its train religious liberty. And in this hope they were not to be disappointed.

With the close of the Revolution the position of the American Catholics was anomalous, to say the least. The War had cut off all communication with the Vicar-Apostolic of London because he refused longer to exercise jurisdiction over them. Thus, left to their own devices, the American priests formed a corporation to protect and hold their extensive properties, and at the same time they opened negotiations with the Holy See to secure an American hierarchy to be entirely independent of any foreign power. While the peace negotiations were under way in Paris, John Adams and John Jay, two of the American commissioners, had greatly offended the French by negotiating secretly with the British. Benjamin Franklin, anxious to appease the French, now lent his aid to a scheme to place the American Catholics under French control. The plan called for the establishment of a Vicar-Apostolic in France who should rule the church in America through a vicar-general to be located in one of the American cities, who should have episcopal powers. The intrigue originated in the mind of the French minister in Philadelphia, the object assigned being to further good feeling and a better understanding between the United States and France. All this had been carried on without the knowledge of the American priests. When it became known to them there were immediately vigorous

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protests and Franklin, convinced of the unwisdom of this arrangement, threw his influence toward the selection of an American priest to the position of authority, and the naming of John Carroll as Prefect Apostolic followed.

The Carrolls were the most important and influential Catholic family in the American colonies. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, a cousin of John Carroll, was the only Catholic to sign the Declaration of Independence; indeed, he rendered valued service to the American cause in numerous ways. The honorable position occupied by the Carroll family was undoubtedly of major importance to the small body of more or less despised American Catholics as they faced the problems of an independent America. And it would be difficult to overestimate the significance of the naming of a member of this notable family as the church's first ecclesiastical head.

John Carroll was a native of Maryland, born January 8, 1735. His father, Daniel Carroll, was a merchant and a large landowner of Upper Marlboro. His mother, Eleanor Darnell, was a descendant of the Calverts and was a woman of considerable culture for the time, having been educated in France. It is supposed that "Jacky" Carroll received his preparation for the Jesuit school at Bohemia Manor under his mother's instruction. Catholic schools in the colonies were carried on mostly in secret and generally lasted but a short time. This was true of the Academy at Bohemia Manor which was established in 1744. Both John and his cousin Charles Carroll were students at this school, John entering at twelve years of age in 1747 and leaving the school in July, 1748. Catholics sending their children to Europe to school were subject to a fine of £100 but this did not deter numerous Marylanders from sending their

sons to these Catholic schools—there was a whole chain of institutions for the education of the children of English Catholics extending from the English Channel to Rome. It was to St. Omer's (founded 1592), the largest and most popular of the schools, that young John Carroll and his cousin Charles were sent, since St. Omer's provided both secular and theological training.

Concluding his studies at St. Omer's John Carroll entered the Jesuit novitiate at Watten near by, where for two years he was engaged in further study and meditation. After three more years at Liége studying languages and philosophy he returned to St. Omer's in 1758 as a teacher. The suppression of the Jesuit order left Carroll resentful, but obedient, and when the blow fell he left France for England where for a pleasant and leisurely year he was the chaplain of Lord Arundel. The impending Revolution and the desire to see again his aging mother led him to return to America, and the opening of the American Revolution found him at his mother's home in Rock Creek, Maryland.

Carroll took no active part in the Revolution, though he did consent to become a member of the unsuccessful mission to Canada in 1775 to enlist the support of the French Catholics for the Revolution.

An incident which gave to John Carroll a position of outstanding importance among American Catholics was his controversy with Charles Wharton, a native of Maryland and a former Catholic priest. Wharton was a man of brilliant parts, and when in 1784 he left the Catholic Church to become a priest in the Anglican body he defended his action in an able pamphlet. To let this go unanswered would undoubtedly leave the American Catholics in a definitely weaker position. Carroll undertook the task of re-

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plying, answering Wharton's arguments in a brilliant way, to Catholic satisfaction at least. This was the beginning of American Catholic controversial literature and the interest thus aroused led to the beginning of the Catholic press in America.

The appointment as Prefect Apostolic over the American Catholics Carroll hesitated to accept, since his powers were to be so limited as to give him little authority. Fearing, however, that in case of his refusal a foreigner might be placed over the American Church, and being assured that he would be made a bishop as soon as definite information could be obtained at Rome as to the state of the Church in America, he finally accepted the difficult post. For the next five years Carroll struggled manfully to bring order out of near chaos. The worst evil he faced was the large number of lazy and unworthy priests: ten years of lax control had created a state of mind among them which instinctively resisted a strong centralized authority. Added to this was the dearth of an adequate supply of clergy, and the immediate necessity of securing a seminary in America for the training of priests. Carroll began at once visitation of his vast prefecture, administering confirmation wherever he went.

A serious problem cropped up in 1787, known as trusteeism, which was to vex the American Catholic Church for many years to come. This arose in New York when the Catholics there erected a church and incorporated it, giving to the trustees the right to call and dismiss its priests. The practice, of course, struck at the very heart of the Catholic system of church control, and Carroll resisted with all the authority he possessed, though he finally felt compelled to compromise with it. It was this incident, perhaps, which

more than anything else convinced the American clergy of the necessity of a bishop. The only immediate source of priests was Europe, and especially Ireland; but the new land was attractive especially to priests who had not got on well in their homelands, and Carroll had no desire to encourage the immigration of such as these, for he had already an over-supply of incompetents. He naturally felt the safest way to provide for a high type clergy was to found a seminary where native youth might be trained under his own eyes. The first step was taken in this direction in 1786 when Georgetown College was projected, to be finally opened in 1791.

Perhaps the success of the American Episcopalians in securing bishops for America influenced the American Catholic clergy to petition the Holy See to appoint a Catholic bishop. At any rate on March 12, 1788, a petition drawn up by the Catholic clergy and signed by John Carroll, Robert Molyneux and John Ashton, was sent to Pope Pius VI asking that a bishop be granted to the United States. Rome, now evidently fully aware of the seriousness of the American situation, acted promptly, and on July 12, 1788, a letter was dispatched consenting to the request and granting the unusual favor of permitting the American priests to elect their own bishop. They were also permitted to decide on a proper location for the new see. Accordingly at a meeting of the Body of Clergy at Whitmarsh, Maryland, twenty-four of the twenty-six priests present voted for John Carroll as the first bishop in the United States and selected Baltimore as the seat of the first see. On September 14, 1789, the Cardinals constituting the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda approved the selections and so reported to the Pope. On November 6, 1789, Pope Pius

VI issued a Bull to that effect, and on August 15, 1790, in the chapel of Lulworth Castle John Carroll was consecrated by Bishop Charles Walmsley as first Bishop of Baltimore. The American Catholics were now independent of all Old World ties, except the "spiritual union with the Holy See," and began their organized life with an American as the chief shepherd.

The first task undertaken by Bishop Carroll was a visit to Boston in the spring of 1791, where a small Catholic congregation had been gathered. He was greatly impressed by the cordial way in which he was received by the New Englanders, who but a few years before considered a popish priest "to be the greatest monster in creation." In the fall of this year he summoned the first synod of the clergy. Twenty-two priests gathered at Baltimore, where in a session of five days rules were adopted for the regulation of church affairs and careful instructions given on the administration of the Holy Eucharist and the other sacraments. Particular attention was given to marriage because of the unavoidability of mixed marriages in the state of society then existing in America. In this year also the first Sulpicians arrived from France, the most valuable of Bishop Carroll's foreign helpers, who soon opened St. Mary's in Baltimore for the training of native priests. The Sulpicians were active too in missionary work, while Augustinians, Dominicans, Belgian Carmelite nuns, Trappists and other orders were all welcomed by Bishop Carroll. He never showed a particular attachment for any order and felt that there was work for all in his vast diocese.

Though Catholic growth was slow progress was being made in many directions. Catholic families were moving westward in the great push of population across the Al-

leghenies, and by the turn of the century Catholic communities were found in many newer sections of the country. The acquisition of Louisiana in 1803 was an event of great significance for the American Church, bringing many additional Catholic communities under the American flag. This expansion caused Carroll to urge the erection of new sees and in 1808 Pope Pius VII heeded the Bishop's recommendation. Baltimore was erected into an archdiocese with Carroll as archbishop, and four new dioceses were established: New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Bardstown, Kentucky. The bishops of the new sees were practically named by Carroll, as he had sent to Rome the names of those best fitted to bear the burden of the episcopate.

Archbishop Carroll's life drew to its close during the War of 1812. He witnessed the attempt of the British to capture Baltimore and on its failure ordered a *Te Deum* be sung in all his churches. His last years were filled with troubles over the Trustee System, which had gained a strong foothold in the larger cities, but the resulting losses were more than counteracted by the rapid growth of the Church during the latter years of Archbishop Carroll's life. His death occurred on Sunday December 3, 1815, in his eighty-first year.

John Carroll has been characterized by one who knew him not only as a prelate but also as a man "wholly free from guile, uniformly frank, generous and placable." He had no patience with any manifestations of intolerance and, most fortunate for American Catholicism, he was a stanch advocate of republicanism, loving America and all for which America stood. Any expressed preference for foreign institutions or measures on the part of an American caused him irritation. Gifted with wisdom and prudence he carried

forward the organization of American Catholicism "with a courage which none could gainsay."

ISAAC BACKUS

Standing out more conspicuously as the champion of religious liberty than any other leader since Roger Williams was Isaac Backus, for fifty years the pastor of a Baptist Church in Middleborough, Massachusetts.

The son of a Connecticut farmer, Samuel Backus—who was also the owner of a prosperous business, the Backus Iron Works—Isaac Backus was born in the town of Norwich, January 9, 1724. His mother, Elizabeth Tracy, was a descendant of the Winslows, but more important than his *Mayflower* descent was that he came of a long line of sturdy New Englanders noted for independence of thought and action. Of Isaac's education we have little definite knowledge, but his schooling must have been slight judged by the numerous misspellings and grammatical errors in his writings. This limitation, however, did not hinder his literary activity or his interest in education, for he was the author of numerous writings—some of them important—especially on the question of the relation of church and state; he was for many years a trustee of the College of Rhode Island and was honored with its Master's degree.

The first important fact in the life of Isaac Backus was his conversion in the great New England revival which reached his native town in 1741. Aroused under the preaching of Eleazar Wheelock and James Davenport, the two most emotional of the New England revivalists, Isaac Backus, after days of heart-searching, at length found his "heavy burden . . . gone," his "tormenting fears . . . fled," and he experienced "joy . . . unspeakable." Dis-

satisfied with the Norwich church, because of its low spiritual state, young Backus delayed joining the church until the following year. Four years later the church was divided over the revival issue, resulting in the withdrawal of the revivalists and the formation of a "New Light" or "Separate" congregation. The Backus family became members of this new congregation, and Isaac's mother and brother suffered imprisonment because of their refusal to pay rates for the support of the Congregational minister in the town.

The preaching of George Whitefield in neighboring towns in 1745 was evidently the principal immediate influence which brought to Isaac Backus the feeling that he was called to preach. The following year we find him on a preaching tour, the first in a long series of such tours which he was to make throughout his life. By this time there were numerous "Separate" congregations in the regions throughout New England affected by the great revival, and it was among these people that Isaac Backus carried on his preaching activities. It was on one of these trips, in 1747, that Backus came first to Titicut, a village on the line between Bridgewater and Middleborough in what was once the old Plymouth colony. Here, after he and his companion, Joseph Snow, had preached twenty-four times in ten days, young Backus was requested to remain as minister. After he had preached there for some time, the precinct committee, representing the Established Church, asked him to preach for them; but Backus had already reached a position opposed to civil control of the church and would not submit his right to preach to any group representing state authority. Early the next year a group of recent converts and other revivalists invited him to be their pastor, and here he remained throughout the remainder of his life. On one of

his preaching tours he had met Susanna Mason who in 1749 became, as he expressed it, "the companion of my life, and the greatest temporal blessing that God ever gave me, for nearly fifty-one years. . . ."

Between the years 1740-1750 from sixteen to eighteen "Separate" or "New Light" churches in Massachusetts alone grew into Baptist churches, among them a part of the congregation over which Backus presided. On his return from a preaching tour in 1749 he found that some of his members had embraced Baptist principles, and soon Backus himself was led to accept their views. Almost immediately, however, he abandoned them, though his mind continued to be agitated over the question; in July, 1751, he reached a final decision on both questions of infant baptism and immersion. When he and his wife, with several others, were immersed the following month, a bitter controversy was immediately precipitated within his congregation. The final outcome was the formation of a Baptist church in Middleborough over which Backus was ordained as pastor on June 23, 1756, a post which he retained until the end of his life.

From this time forward Backus took an increasingly active part in supporting Baptist views and came to be recognized as their most effective defender in New England. His writings, mostly in the form of polemical tracts, answered Baptist critics and stirred his fellow-religionists to renewed zeal and effort. An example of these writings is *A Fish Caught in His Own Net* (1768), a reply to Rev. Joseph Fish who in a book of sermons published the previous year had made a slanderous attack upon the Baptists. Though considering a true minister's qualifications to consist more "in divine enlightenings than in human learning"

Backus was among the first to recognize the need of an educated ministry. He took a "lively interest" in the founding of the College of Rhode Island (1764) and in 1765 was chosen a trustee, in which capacity he continued to serve for thirty-four years.

In his polemical writings he naturally had a good deal to say in defense of liberty of conscience and against the support of the ministry by taxation, since these were fundamental Baptist principles. He was ever on the alert to protest against everything which savored of persecution. To use the words of Isaac Backus' biographer, the Baptists of New England were "driven into the wilderness, were scourged by order of the civil power, were spoiled of their goods, were cast into prison, were pelted by the violence of mobs, were falsely accused, were reviled and defamed . . . ; their principles caricatured, their purposes maligned, their petitions slighted and their hopes deferred. . . ." It is as the defender of the religious liberties of his fellow Baptists and as the protagonist of the complete separation of church and state that the name Isaac Backus has historic significance.

In the year 1767 the Warren Association made up of Baptist churches in New England was formed with Backus as its first secretary. Its purpose was to aid weak churches, to assist young men entering the ministry, to render aid to those imprisoned or despoiled, and to urge upon those in authority the granting of religious liberty. In 1772 Backus became the agent of the Association and continued in that position throughout the Revolution. His duties particularly were to represent Baptist interests in relation to civil government, and he traveled widely among the Baptist churches of New England. He carried on an ex-

tensive correspondence and gathered an immense amount of firsthand information which formed the basis of his *A History of New England, with Particular Reference to the Denomination of Christians Called Baptists*; in three volumes, it was published successively in 1777, 1784, and 1796.

As the Revolution approached, the New England Baptists under the leadership of Backus took advantage of the general demand for civil liberty to urge the cause of religious liberty. The Warren Association was active in collecting evidence of persecution and, on the basis of this evidence, submitted a long petition to the Massachusetts General Court (1771). The following year Backus wrote to a member of the General Assembly setting forth clearly and concisely Baptist claims; in 1773 appeared his *Appeal to the Public*, a sixty-two page pamphlet on religious liberty; in January, 1774, he wrote to the Governor of Massachusetts submitting a Memorial and Petition asking the release of eighteen persons imprisoned for their refusal to pay rates. With this in the immediate background it is easy to understand why Backus, President Manning of the College of Rhode Island, and other leading Baptists, looked upon the meeting of the first Continental Congress in Philadelphia in September, 1774, as a favorable opportunity to give Baptist grievances a national hearing. Accordingly Backus, Manning, and several others journeyed to Philadelphia where they presented a Baptist Memorial to a meeting of some of the delegates, including the Massachusetts members. The latter were indignant at the action of the Baptists, particularly Samuel and John Adams who insisted that the Baptist complaints were not justified. But at least Backus and his associates had succeeded in upsetting

the equipoise of the Massachusetts and Connecticut political leaders, and that is always to the advantage of those agitating a cause.

Following this Backus centered his attacks upon the Massachusetts General Court. He led the attack on the Massachusetts constitution of 1780 which left the privileges of the Congregational standing order much as before. Later when the Federal Constitution was under discussion Backus was chosen a member of the Massachusetts convention to consider it, being the first of four delegates elected from Middleborough. Though the majority of the Baptist members of the convention voted against ratification, Backus favored it, stating: "The exclusion of any hereditary, lordly power, and of any religious test, I view as our greatest security in this constitution."

Backus occupied the years following the Revolution, until his death on November 20, 1806, principally in carrying on his pastoral duties, and in gathering materials for the completion of his *History of New England*. His interest in the great cause of religious liberty did not slacken. In 1790 he sent the first two volumes of his history to President Washington accompanied by a letter in which he states: "The continuance of tax and compulsion for religious ministers in New England while it is abolished in Virginia, is a clear demonstration of the narrow selfishness of mankind." In 1788 at the request of the Virginia Baptists he made an extensive journey into Virginia, during which he traveled 1,251 miles and preached 117 sermons.

Isaac Backus, like most prophets, lacked imagination and a sense of humor. Though he preached constantly and was eternally active in advancing the cause of his denomination he never became an able sermonizer—primarily because he

so often preached without preparation. But in the gathering of facts to support his propaganda for religious liberty he was accurate and careful, he himself stating in his letter to Washington that none of the materials published in his history was ever disputed "in any newspaper among us."

Backus was a man of large frame and in his later years corpulent. In demeanor he was always grave and dignified and his writings contain "no bitter taunts" or "dark insinuations." Besides his many labors in the interest of church and religious liberty he superintended, throughout his life, the cultivation of a farm from which his numerous family secured a major portion of its support, since Backus did not believe in a salaried ministry. True, Backus did not live to see the triumph of the cause to which he devoted his life, but the momentum of the movement which he was so largely responsible in creating was far too powerful to be stopped, and within twenty-five years after his death every New England state had provided for complete religious liberty and the separation of church and state.

CHAPTER V

THE TRANS-ALLEGHENY PIONEERS

The largest single factor in determining American Christianity's peculiar character has been the influence exerted by the frontier. In fact the Americanization of Christianity is little more than its *frontierization*, or the process by which Christianity has accommodated itself to the needs of a people transplanted to a new land and engaged in the task of building a new Christian society.

For five decades following independence, population was moving rapidly into Trans-Appalachia and this region became the testing ground for the American churches. For the greatest and most important task which the American churches faced during these crucial years was that of following these vast streams of westward-moving people. The future of the great new West, and indeed the future of the great new country as a whole, depended in large measure upon the success with which American Christian forces brought civilizing influences into the raw society forming in the new West. The future of the American churches themselves was to be determined by the way in which they met the peculiar needs of the frontier: the churches which met most adequately the problems of the West were the ones destined to become the strongest American religious bodies. The two established churches of the colonial period, the Congregationalists and the Episcopalians, failed to develop an adequate frontier technique

in this early period and as a result both have remained, numerically, at least relatively small bodies. On the other hand the Baptists, the Presbyterians, the Methodists, and the Disciples were the bodies which most effectively met the challenge of the new West and their present large memberships and influence are largely the result of their effective frontier methods. Each developed its own peculiar frontier technique; each performed its share of the frontier task.

JOHN TAYLOR

Among the people pushing westward over the Allegheny Mountains into Kentucky and Tennessee during the years immediately following independence were numerous Baptists from Virginia and North Carolina. The southern phase of the great colonial revivals had greatly increased the number of Baptists in these two states. Generally speaking they represented the lower economic classes who would naturally be the first to respond to the lure of cheap land and better conditions of life to be found in newer sections. The pure democracy of Baptist church government tended also to attract them to the freer life and the greater democracy of the new West. Their preachers were of the farmer-preacher type, coming from among the people to whom they ministered. They were self-supporting and so were as much attracted to the better land and freer air of the West as were their congregations. Hence there were numerous Baptist preachers to be found among the early immigrants to the West.

Among the earliest of the Virginia Baptist farmer-preachers to come into Kentucky was John Taylor. He came first in 1779 and spent the winter among the settlers, but returned to Virginia in the spring of 1780 discouraged

at the low state of religion he found in the West. Some ten years before he had come under the influence of William Marshall, a Baptist preacher, uncle of the future Chief Justice of the United States, and after a long inner struggle finally had experienced a satisfying conversion. In these formative years he was greatly helped by Joseph and Isaac Redding and John Ireland, famous Virginia Baptist preachers. He was baptized by Ireland in 1772 and almost immediately began to take an active part in religious meetings; soon he was itinerating with Joseph Redding. Four years later he was ordained an itinerant preacher and for ten years traveled widely in the back country of Virginia and the Carolinas, occasionally crossing into Kentucky.

John Taylor was born in Farquier County, Virginia, in 1752, though the family moved to Frederick County in the upper Shenandoah valley in his early boyhood—a region then relatively new, the county having been formed in 1738. Because of the intemperate habits of his father a large share of the responsibility of supporting the family had devolved upon his young shoulders and as a consequence he grew up with little opportunity for an education.

At thirty years of age, and after ten years of itinerant preaching, Taylor was married to Elizabeth Kavanaugh, "a young lady of a respectable family, and a member of the Baptist church." Soon after his marriage he fell heir to the estate of a bachelor uncle which consisted principally of land and a few slaves. In 1783 Taylor decided to move to Kentucky. He took a boat at Redstone with his wife and child and four Negroes, and was seven weeks making the journey to Beargrass Settlement. It was now winter and the thinly settled country was in alarm because of the danger of Indian forays. The Taylors' destination was

Craig's Station on Gilbert's Creek, eighty miles through a dense forest, where they finally arrived a little before Christmas. Soon after their arrival Mrs. Taylor gave birth to a son, an ordeal which almost cost her life. The Baptist church at Gilbert's Creek had been transplanted from Virginia under the leadership of Lewis Craig, one of the ablest of the Baptist farmer-preachers and Taylor and his wife joined this church.

After a seven months' stay at Gilbert's Creek, Taylor bought some 1,500 acres of land in Woodford County on Clear Creek and removed there in the summer of 1784. Here he lived until 1795, disposing of most of his land to friends and building up a Baptist community. Though there were several Baptist families scattered about "everybody had so much to do that religion was scarcely talked of." Finally, however, after meetings had been held in the cabins a warm religious interest was aroused and the Clear Creek church was formed; and though there were several other preachers in the congregation, Taylor was chosen its pastor.

Because of his growing family, and especially because of a feeling that his usefulness in the Clear Creek church was largely ended, Taylor decided to sell his property in Woodford County and move to a new region in Boone County where he had acquired about 3,000 acres of land in several tracts. Here he and his family became members of the Bullittsburg church where he preached frequently, attending, in the fall of the year particularly, numerous Baptist Associations. Again in 1802 Taylor decided to move on into the wilderness, since the Bullittsburg church no longer needed his services. Once more selling his land and placing his goods on a flat-bottomed boat, Taylor proceeded

with his family down the Ohio River some sixty miles to Mount Byrd in Gallatin County. Here again he acquired a large tract of land and with the aid of his two grown sons and several slaves performed a prodigious amount of labor in a relatively short time. "The sound of our axes," he says, "made entertaining musick in this mighty forest" abounding in stout poplar, beach, walnut, and ash timber. Some of the poplars were six or seven feet through, "and their length a hundred feet without a limb." Within two years after removing to Gallatin County Taylor and his sons and slaves had cleared seventy acres of heavily timbered land, had built a large brick house seventy by twenty-two feet, having burned a hundred thousand bricks for its construction, and had planted a large orchard of apple, peach, and other kinds of fruit. He was now probably the richest man in his county, the owner of twenty slaves and a large fertile farm with commodious house and a great barn.

While Taylor was acquiring this store of worldly goods he preached little except on Saturdays and Sundays or "of nights." The church to which he belonged was at Corn Creek. Though Taylor states, "I do not recollect that worldly business ever prevented my attending one of my thousands of meetings that I have appointed for near fifty years past," he became conscious of the "apostasy of my [his] affections from the Lord." During his residence of thirteen years at Mount Byrd his great barn had been struck by lightning and had burned to the ground with its valuable contents; two of his children had died; his popularity in the community and church had waned, partly because of his opposition to the Masonic Order: all this Taylor interpreted as evidence that the Lord was displeased with

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him. This evidence of the Lord's displeasure, and the proximity of his farm to Madison, Indiana, where there were numerous slave traders—a situation which, in view of his frequent absences from home, placed all he had in jeopardy—prompted him to sell out once more.

His next move was back to Woodford County, where for about a year he became a member of the Big Spring church. Here he opposed a pamphlet written by a member of the church, a Judge Davidge, in which, he states, "the Arminian doctrine was strained to its utmost link." Lack of sympathy for Taylor's position brought about his withdrawal to help form a new church in Frankfort. In the Frankfort church he did not feel at home and after two years united with some of his brethren to form the Buck Run church within the Forks of Elkhorn, where he took over the pastoral charge. Here he remained until his death in 1833 in his eighty-fourth year. Altogether Taylor was a member of ten Baptist churches, two in Virginia and eight in Kentucky. The story of his ministerial activities he has related in *A History of Ten Baptist Churches*, published in Frankfort in 1823, a chronicle which constitutes one of the best pictures we have of the activities of the Baptists on the frontier and of the type of work performed by the Baptist farmer-preachers.

Though always connected with a local church, it was Taylor's custom to visit eight or ten Baptist Associations each year where his counsel was always highly valued. Frequently he made long journeys into various sections not alone of Kentucky, but also into Tennessee, western Virginia and North Carolina.

When Baptist missionaries from the East began to appear in the West the farmer-preachers took a strong dislike to

them and their methods. This was natural in view of their criticism of the farmer-preachers and their reports of the destitute conditions in the West published in the missionary journals. In 1820 Taylor published a pamphlet called *Thought on Missions* in which he bitterly attacked the missionary movement, contending that the whole missionary system was contrary to the Baptist scheme of church government, and that its primary purpose was to get money. The pamphlet was one of the influences contributing to the anti-mission movement among Baptists which made a clean sweep of many Baptist churches in many sections of the frontier. During his later years it seems that Taylor repented of his opposition, but it was too late to overcome the influence of his pamphlet.

John Taylor was a man short in stature, broad and muscular. His eyes were small, set in a broad face with high cheekbones and heavy overhanging eyebrows. He was indefatigable in every work he undertook; he was ardent in his friendships; he permitted nothing to hinder his opposition to what he considered error or wrongdoing. Like many men of limited education he was often swayed by prejudice and frequently mistaken in judgment, but on the whole few men of his time and place exercised a larger influence for good.

PETER CARTWRIGHT

Of all the Methodist circuit riders on the frontiers of Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, Peter Cartwright has the largest fame. This fame may be due to his *Autobiography* which appeared in 1856 and which has enjoyed a deservedly large reading: certainly no picture of

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the part played by religion in the new West is more fascinating.

The Methodist system, with its circuit preachers, its class leaders and lay preachers, combined with its gospel of free grace and individual responsibility, was ideally suited to a moving population and a new country. The circuit preachers often traveled over a region as large as present-day annual conferences, having as many as twenty-five to thirty preaching places, where "classes" were organized, under the supervision of "class-leaders." Over all the circuits on a "district" was the presiding elder, always an ordained man and one particularly qualified by experience to supervise the young men on the circuits. He visited every circuit on his district at least four times each year, held the quarterly conference at which all the classes were represented by their leaders, administered the sacraments, and preached to the assembled multitudes who gathered to hear The Elder. At the end of the summer came the Camp Meetings, when the people for miles around gathered at an appointed place in the woods, erected their brush booths or set up their tents, and for several days together experienced the joy of congenial social intercourse interspersed with numerous religious meetings. Though originating with the Presbyterians, the camp meeting had its largest development among the Methodists, who soon made it the most influential social and religious institution of the frontier. Once a year came the annual conference presided over by the bishop, at which all the circuit preachers were assigned to their circuits for the coming year. Here also the character of each circuit preacher must be "passed" lest any unworthy man be found in the ranks. Such was the closely knit organization of which Peter Cartwright became an influential part.

Brought to Kentucky from Virginia by his parents when five years of age, Cartwright spent his young manhood in Logan County surrounded by the rough, uncouth, ignorant, and often lawless pioneers. Indeed he tells us that the place was called "Rogues Harbor" because so many criminals had fled to this region to escape the arm of the law. Here he soon acquired all the usual frontier vices, including horse-racing, card-playing, and gambling. His father had been a Revolutionary soldier and seems to have been "not so much a bad as a good-for-nothing kind of man." His mother was a member of the Methodist Church and the Cartwright home was open to the traveling preachers. When sixteen years of age, in the midst of the great western revival, Peter came under religious conviction and after several weeks of what he characterized as "a solemn struggle of soul" he experienced conversion, and a month later joined the Methodist Episcopal Church. Immediately he felt concern for the conversion of his companions and took an active part in camp meetings and in the religious activities of the region.

His conversion had taken place in May, 1801, the year the great western revival reached its peak, and the spring of the next year found him a licensed exhorter. Cartwright now entered Brown's Academy, where "all branches of a common English education" as well as the "dead languages" were taught. According to Cartwright the teacher was a bigoted seceder who hated the Methodists more than he hated the devil; and the pranks played upon him by his fellow students with the encouragement of their teacher (because the young Methodist insisted upon preaching and holding religious meetings) caused him to leave school. Thus his advanced schooling lasted through but the single

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summer of 1802, and in the fall of that year he began the work of a circuit preacher. When the conference convened he was able to report a new circuit formed, with seventy new members properly divided into classes over which he had appointed leaders. So began the long and colorful career of Peter Cartwright as a Methodist itinerant.

The Western conference, which embraced all the settled territory west of the Allegheny Mountains, received him on probation in 1804, and he was assigned to the Salt River and Shelby circuit in Kentucky, which he describes as "a large six weeks' circuit," extending along the Ohio River and even crossing over into what is now Indiana. The next two years he was assigned to circuits in Ohio, where he had many a rough and tumble experience dealing with the Yankees around Marietta who were proud of their culture and looked down on country preachers, and contending with the Presbyterians, the Baptists, and the numerous other sects abounding in the region. By 1807 his money had given out, his horse was blind, his saddle worn out, and his clothing so patched it was difficult to detect the original cloth. Returning to his home in Kentucky, a journey of five hundred miles through the new country, he was joyfully received by his parents; and before he started out again his father gave him a fresh horse, a saddle and bridle, some new clothes and forty dollars in cash, and thus newly equipped he started out once more.

In 1806 Cartwright was admitted to full membership in the Western conference and was elected to deacon's orders. Two years later he was ordained an elder and in the late summer of that year (1808) he was married to Miss Frances Gaines, a worthy helpmate of the indefatigable circuit rider. She bore him seven daughters and two sons,

eight of the nine growing to maturity, and in 1856 he reported "we have now living 38 grandchildren, and 8 great-grandchildren. And all our children are in the Methodist Episcopal Church."

Removing from Kentucky to Illinois in 1824 to get away from slavery, and to find a place where he could raise his children to work where work was not thought a degradation, he became at once a leader in Illinois Methodism. For forty-five years he served as a presiding elder; he was elected twelve times to the General Conference where he became one of the recognized leaders of the church; he was twice a member of the Illinois legislature; he ran against Abraham Lincoln for Congress in 1846 and was defeated, a fact which he forgets to mention in his *Autobiography*; at the same time he carried on the work of the farm from which much of his livelihood was obtained.

Peter Cartwright thus summarizes the work and the hardships of the frontier Methodist preacher—simply a summary, of course, of his own experience:

A Methodist preacher in those days, when he felt that God had called him to preach, instead of hunting up a college or a biblical institute, hunted up a hardy pony or a horse and some traveling apparatus, and with his library always at hand, namely, Bible, Hymn Book, and Discipline, he started, and with a text that never wore out or grew stale, he cried, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world!" In this way he went through storms of wind, hail, snow and rain; climbed hills and mountains, traversed valleys, plunged through swamps, swam swollen streams, lay out all night—wet, cold, weary and hungry; held his horse by the bridle all night or tied him to a limb, slept with his saddle bags for his pillow,

and his old big coat for a blanket, if he had any, for a covering. Often he slept in dirty cabins, on earthen floors, before the fire; ate roasting ears for bread, drank butter-milk for coffee or sage tea for imperial; took, with a hearty zest, deer, bear meat, or wild turkey for breakfast, dinner, and supper—if he could get it.

In the midst of all his varied activities Cartwright never lost sight of the fact that he was a minister of the gospel whose primary business was that of saving souls. His was a never-ending battle against the devil and all his works, and the devil had many agents in the raw, new country where Cartwright labored. Hard drinking, gambling, Sabbath-breaking, swearing and immorality abounded. His ethical code was simple and his conception of religion narrow, but he preached from first to last with telling effectiveness the necessity of a saving knowledge of Jesus Christ. Often in camp meetings he swept his hearers off their feet, and sometimes literally hundreds fell to the ground under his vivid picturing of the awfulness of their lost and hopeless condition. Sometimes scores and even hundreds would be on the ground at once, crying for mercy and pardon—whence he led them with shouting and singing into the courts of heaven.

Listen to Cartwright's description of an occurrence at a camp meeting held on the Wabash circuit in 1811. It was a Baptist community and Cartwright and his associates were having a hard time removing the prejudice against the Methodists. The meeting, he tells us, "dragged heavily" and all the preaching seemed powerless. On a Sunday evening, after the famous Valentine Cook had preached, and Cartwright was just closing his sermon, suddenly "the

power of God was displayed, and sinners fell by scores through the assembly." There was no need of a "mourner's bench" for the people fell where they were, indeed "several hundred fell in five minutes; sinners turned pale; some ran into the woods; some tried to get away, and fell in the attempt; some shouted aloud for joy. . . ."

Though Cartwright recognized some of these strange manifestations as of God, his common sense put a limit upon them. He seems to have accepted the "falling exercise," as it was termed, as legitimate; but with the jerks, the running exercise and the barking, and the trances, which frequently accompanied the religious excitement of the frontier, he had little patience. These he regarded as due to the wiles of the devil, who thus sought to discredit the work of God.

Cartwright's attitude toward education has been much misunderstood. He has been accused of opposing education, especially for the ministry; yet he contributed liberally to the founding of the first Methodist colleges in Illinois, served as trustee of both McKendree College and the Woman's College at Jacksonville, and during his terms as a member of the Illinois legislature he introduced the first bill for the establishment of a state educational institution. He had, however, little patience with the notion that preachers could be made by the process of education, and he had the utmost contempt for the eastern missionaries who came into the West with their manuscript sermons.

Peter Cartwright has become a more or less mythical figure, a veritable frontier Friar Tuck, typifying the frontier Methodist preacher of long ago. He had a short, thick, magnificent body supporting a massive head with sharp

beady black eyes and disheveled hair. Honest and shrewd, with a great fund of rollicking humor; indifferent to refinement of manner; ever ready with sharp tongue and hard fists to defend the cause of decency and religion in the rude and rough society of the frontier, he has attained a fixed place among those who played a leading rôle in the making of the West.

GIDEON BLACKBURN

The Presbyterians performed a type of work on the American frontier which generally the Baptists, the Methodists, and the Disciples were incapable of doing. In fact it is not too much to say that they contributed the principal cultural and educational influence in Trans-Appalachia for at least the first third of the nineteenth century. They were not as successful, however, as the Baptists and Methodists in gaining large numbers of members. This lack of success was due to several factors. One was the high educational standard they maintained for their ministry which made them unwilling to use uneducated and half-prepared men. Another was the fact that a great majority of the early Presbyterian ministers in the West were occupied much of the time conducting schools, so that their time and energy were divided. Many of the early Presbyterian ministers in the West were graduates of the College of New Jersey: for example, John MacMillan and Thaddeus Dodd, the first settled Presbyterian ministers west of the Alleghenies; David Rice, the father of Presbyterianism in Kentucky; Samuel Doak, the Presbyterian pioneer in Tennessee, and numerous others of their contemporaries. Since they constituted the largest body of college-trained men in the West, in the very nature of the case the vast educational need about them as well as the necessity of increasing their

means of livelihood would result in their becoming school teachers as well as ministers.

The great educational influence exerted by the Presbyterians in the early West may be seen in the fact that of the forty permanent colleges and universities established in the United States between 1780 and 1829 thirteen were founded by Presbyterians, four by Congregationalists, one by Presbyterians and Congregationalists in co-operation, six by Episcopalians, one by Catholics, three by Baptists, one by German Reformed, and eleven by the states. Of these forty institutions, fourteen were located west of the Alleghenies, and of these, seven were established by Presbyterians, one by Presbyterians and Congregationalists jointly, one by Baptists, and one by Episcopalians, while the remaining four were state-established institutions, and all of these were begun with Presbyterian ministers at their head and under Presbyterian influence. These facts establish without further comment the dominance of Presbyterianism in the development of higher education on the early frontier.

Of the numerous Presbyterian ministers of the period none gather up in themselves the several types of Presbyterian activity in the West more adequately than does Gideon Blackburn. Virginia-born (August 27, 1772) of Scotch-Irish parentage in the then frontier county of Augusta in the Shenandoah valley, Gideon Blackburn lived much of the time until he was twelve years of age with his grandfather, General Blackburn. After his grandfather's death he went to live with a maternal uncle, Gideon Ritchie, a serious and pious young bachelor. At the early age of fifteen young Blackburn experienced conversion, and his uncle, perceiving that he possessed unusual gifts and large

promise, determined to see that he received an education. About this time the Blackburns and their relatives were caught up in the great western migration and, pushing over the mountains, they came into what is now Washington County, Tennessee, then a part of North Carolina.

To this county Samuel Doak, also a native of Augusta County, Virginia, and a graduate of Princeton, had come in 1780. Doak had established a Presbyterian church near Jonesboro, and a little later had opened a school on his farm which was incorporated in 1785 as Martin Academy. This was the first educational institution in the Mississippi valley, and in 1795 it was incorporated as Washington College. The Blackburns had the good fortune to settle within a mile of Doak's school and here it was that young Blackburn received a good share of his literary education. When some years later Gideon's uncle moved still farther west into Jefferson County, Gideon accompanied him and was soon pursuing his theological studies under the direction of Rev. Robert Henderson who lived five miles away and presided over two frontier congregations. Henderson was a graduate of Doak's academy and was but eight years Blackburn's senior. His theological studies completed, Blackburn was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Abingdon in 1792. He was now ready to enter upon his ministry, but in order to begin his work he had to create his own congregations, for there were no churches to extend him a call.

There was at this time constant danger of Indian forays on the Tennessee frontier, and just after young Blackburn had received his license to preach a company of militia prepared to march from the neighborhood to a stockade where Marysville in Blount County now stands. Blackburn decided to accompany the soldiers, and armed with his Bible

and hymn book as well as with a rifle and ammunition he marched with them to the fort. Here he began his labors as a minister of the gospel. Near the fort he erected a large log cabin for a residence and in time a log church was built. Here he formed the New Providence church and later took charge of another congregation ten miles distant.

Not content with confining his preaching to his two congregations, Blackburn established a "circuit" among the several forts of the region and soon was widely and favorably known among the frontiersmen. He generally accompanied the militia in his journeys from post to post, and during the warm months he held services out under the trees while the men and boys with their rifles handy stood about him. Because of the newness and rawness of the region he received little support from the people and so was compelled to earn a large share of his livelihood on his own land. He thus early accustomed himself to prepare his sermons as he worked in the field. Taking a sheet of paper and an inkhorn with him he would place them on a convenient stump, and as he followed the plow would meditate on the subject at hand. As thoughts came to him he would note them down, then resume his plowing; and so he went on day by day until, when Saturday night came, he would review, arrange, and fix in his mind the "mental labors of the week." The habit thus acquired of thinking on foot stayed with him through the years and remained for him the most effective method of study.

Soon after Blackburn's settlement at Marysville, Tennessee, he became concerned over the condition of the neighboring Cherokee Indians and began agitation for the establishment of a mission and school among them. In

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1803 Blackburn was a delegate to the General Assembly from the Union Presbytery, which had been formed in 1800, and here he made an appeal for funds to open a school among the Cherokees. The sum of \$200 was subscribed and Blackburn through his own efforts added more than \$400. A school was opened in 1804 and was called the Highwassee Indian School. Two years later another school was established under his direction. In 1807 he took an extended tour through the northern states in the interest of his Indian work and returned with more than five thousand dollars. He made also extended journeys of inspection through the Cherokee nation and did much to encourage and direct the Indians in their civilizing plans and activities. By 1810 his exertions in behalf of the Indians had brought on several attacks of fever. This together with financial embarrassment caused chiefly by his personal sacrifices for his mission caused him to retire from that work and to remove to Franklin, Tennessee, where he became president of Harpeth Academy. At the same time he took charge of five congregations within a range of fifty miles. Here he remained for a period of a dozen years, teaching, preaching, and organizing new churches.

In 1823 he was called to the pastorate of the Presbyterian church in Louisville, Kentucky, where he remained until he was invited to accept the presidency of Centre College at Danville in 1827. Though brief, his pastorate in Louisville was very successful. His wide reputation as an eloquent preacher attracted to his church the most influential and wealthy people of the place, and the membership grew rapidly as a result of a revival which swept over the region during the second year of his Louisville ministry.

Centre College had been opened but four years previous

to Blackburn's coming to the presidency and the three years of his incumbency seem to have been stormy ones. He resigned in 1830 as a result of criticism in the Synod of his New School views and perhaps also of his anti-slavery position, though their criticism of him was placed on the ground of dissatisfaction with his "literary attainments." Blackburn in a letter (December 9, 1830) states that he was forced out because the party in the Synod opposed to him were afraid lest his influence check their schemes to bring the college under "Princeton influence."

For three years after leaving Centre College Blackburn was the pastor of the Presbyterian church at Versailles, Kentucky, where he served also as an Agent of the Kentucky State Temperance Society. In 1833 he removed to Illinois, evidently to get away from the institution of slavery, as had Peter Cartwright. In 1835 he was employed by the trustees of Illinois College to raise money for that institution and while thus engaged he conceived the plan of founding a Theological Seminary in Illinois. He proposed an elaborate plan for the raising of money, buying government lands and selling them at a profit to friends of the cause, the profits to be invested in lands for the proposed school. Before his death which occurred August 23, 1838, he had entered 16,656 acres of land for the institution. His untimely death, brought on by a cancerous growth on his lip from which he had suffered for ten years, prevented the plan from being carried through. Later, however, the New School Presbyterian Church to which Blackburn had adhered from the beginning of the controversy, established a school at Carlinsville, Illinois, which was opened in 1857. It later became Blackburn Theological Seminary and in more recent years, with the drop-

ping of the theological courses, it has become Blackburn College.

Gideon Blackburn was handicapped, as were most of the frontier preachers, by lack of financial support. He had married in early manhood (1793) a third cousin, Grizzel Blackburn, by whom he had eleven children, seven sons and four daughters. He gave careful attention to the religious training of his children. Family worship was conducted twice each day and the children were required to read the Scriptures and learn a portion of the Assembly's Catechism each week. As a result of the "pleasant and familiar manner" in which he brought religion to his children all of them became faithful members of the church; two of his sons became ministers, and another son died while in preparation for the ministry.

During his prime Gideon Blackburn was perhaps the most widely known preacher in the West, and his preaching has been described as the "best type of backwoods eloquence." More than six feet in height, with large head and bold features, in his youth his hair glossy black and in his later years snow white, he always presented a striking figure in the pulpit. Though a teacher as well as a preacher, he was best known as a preacher. He prepared his sermons carefully, writing them out in full, but never preached from manuscript. He made no effort to remember the language of his written sermons: he tried to get the thought fully in mind and left the language to the occasion. His sermons were highly descriptive and abounded in appeals to the imagination, the consciences, and the hearts of his hearers. Often congregations sat spellbound under his eloquence and many were brought to a conversion experience through his influence. He loved to preach and even when fully

engaged in teaching during the week, he would mount his horse as soon as classes were over on Friday and dash off thirty or forty miles, preach five or six times, administer the sacrament on the Sabbath, and return for his classes Monday morning as fresh and vigorous as ever.

In 1816 Gideon Blackburn visited St. Louis and preached several times, with the result that great interest in religion was awakened there. Among his hearers were several Roman Catholics. A French lady who attended his preaching regularly often wept freely. Taken to task by her priest and asked why she never wept while he preached, she replied, "If you will preach like Mr. Blackburn I will cry all the time." But Gideon Blackburn and the other frontier preachers of his kind did far more than simply appeal to the emotions of the people. They believed in revivalism, and did not object to emotion, but they stood valiantly also for a religion that manifested itself in the lifting of the daily life of the people of the west to a plane where they at least desired to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with their God.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL

On a bleak October morning in the autumn of 1808, the little ship *Hibernia*, which had set sail a few days before from Londonderry in north Ireland with immigrants for America on board, might have been seen pounding herself to pieces on the rocks off the island of Islay some thirty miles north of the Irish mainland. Among the passengers was a mother and her seven children, three sons and four daughters. They had started from their Irish home to join the husband and father in America, where he had gone the year before. The eldest son, as he sat on a broken

mast watching the women and children being taken ashore, thought "how transitory and unreal are all worldly security and ambition," and then and there he decided that if God willed to save him he would devote his life to the more abiding things of the spirit. That twenty-year-old youth was Alexander Campbell, who within a relatively few years was to become the co-founder of one of the largest and most typically American of the religious bodies in the United States, the Disciples of Christ.

As so often happens in this topsy-turvy world disaster turned out to be a blessing in disguise, for as a result of the shipwreck, Alexander Campbell was enabled to attend the University of Glasgow, his father's Alma Mater. The family's passage money had been returned, but as the winter months were extremely dangerous for an Atlantic crossing it was determined to remain in Scotland for the winter, and so came Alexander's opportunity to attend the University. Here for eight months he improved every precious moment, with regular classes in Greek, Logic, Belles Lettres, and Experimental Philosophy, and extra classes in French and Greek Testament, English reading and composition. His schedule began at four each morning and the full days passed happily until August, 1809, when he with his mother and brothers and sisters again set sail for America. On September 28, after a stormy voyage, they landed safely in New York, whence they made their way to Philadelphia and were soon bumping along in a hired wagon over the Allegheny Mountains to join the father and husband, Thomas Campbell, in the far-away Redstone country in southwestern Pennsylvania. The happy reunion took place three days' journey east of Washington, Pennsylvania, for the elder Campbell had journeyed east

to meet them, with led horses to give them a respite from the eleven days of jolting over the execrable roads.

To understand how Alexander Campbell came to be the greatest name in the Disciple fellowship it will be necessary to begin with Thomas Campbell. In a real sense Thomas the father is the founder of the movement which Alexander the son developed and carried on.

Thomas Campbell, though a minister in the most conservative branch of the Scotch Covenantors, the Old Light Anti-Burgher Presbyterian Church, found himself nevertheless out of sympathy with them long before he went to America. When his son Alexander was sixteen years of age Campbell became the minister of a congregation at Richhill in County Armagh, and in order to eke out a livelihood for his large family he established an academy with Alexander as his assistant. At Richhill there was an independent congregation whose minister, John Walker, exercised a liberalizing influence on the Campbells. Soon the church divisions and petty squabbles among the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, together with his impaired health, impelled the father to turn his face toward America. Leaving his school in Alexander's care, he set sail in 1807, intending to send for his family as soon as he had found a place of abode in the New World. On landing in Philadelphia he found the newly formed Anti-Burgher Synod in session there and he at once accepted the opportunity of serving a Scotch-Irish congregation in the little frontier town of Washington, Pennsylvania. And here it was that the Campbell family had their happy reunion after two eventful years of separation, years as portentous for the father as for the son.

While Alexander Campbell was feverishly absorbing

knowledge at the University of Glasgow, he was at the same time coming into contact with the Haldane movement to revitalize the Church of Scotland. Greville Ewing, in charge of the Haldane Seminary in Glasgow, became young Campbell's best friend and his influence helped prepare the son to accept his father's religious position—a new and radical position which he had just announced as the family arrived in their new home.

Thomas Campbell's experience in trying to carry on an Anti-Burgher church in a religiously destitute community had brought home to him, as never before, the absurdity of the petty divisions which prevailed among Christian people, especially on the frontier. The Anti-Burgher Presbyterians seemed to have little interest in the scattered sheep in the wilderness; they were primarily concerned with keeping themselves "unsponsored from the world." Thomas Campbell had come to America to get away from just that type of narrowness, and it was not long until he had gained the suspicion and ill will of the presbytery because he had dared to invite regular Presbyterians who were without a minister to take communion with his congregation. Charges were laid against him. He was found guilty "of violating the seal and testimony of the Seceder Church." He appealed to the Synod, which handed down the decision "not guilty; but don't do it again." But right here lay the trouble, for Thomas Campbell intended to do it again, and so he withdrew from the Seceder Church. By this time he had a considerable following in the region and his next step was to gather his followers together into the Christian Association of Washington, the first organization among the Disciples.

Thomas Campbell had no intention of forming another

denomination; rather he was weary of denominationalism. The Christian Association was formed for the purpose of promoting church union by persuading people to put aside their man-made creeds and to accept the Bible alone as the sole authority for the Christian. The whole matter was summed up by Thomas Campbell in the striking slogan, "Where the Scriptures speak we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent." The elder Campbell now set himself to the task of making plain his whole position and prepared the document which is the Magna Charta of the Disciple movement, the justly famous *Declaration and Address*. The *Declaration and Address* was in the hands of the printer when news came to Thomas Campbell that his family had landed and were on their way to join him. When the father told his son what he had done the son replied: "Father, I accept that plea for Christian union. I believe it implicitly and now I devote all that I am or hope to be to this cause of Christian union."

His first two years in America were momentous ones for Alexander Campbell. He was chiefly occupied with the continuation of his studies under his father's direction, but in July, 1810, he preached his first sermon. In March of the following year he was married to Margaret Brown, the only daughter of a wealthy farmer, in what is now the state of West Virginia. From this time on Alexander Campbell became a resident of western Virginia, where he acquired wealth and influence and where later he established Bethany College.

In the year 1812 the Campbells and their followers formed the Brush Run Church, entirely independent of other ecclesiastical bodies. At its organization Alexander Campbell was ordained by the church as its minister, and

in March of that year his first child was born. With little Jane Campbell's arrival the question at once arose, should she be baptized? The mother urged it while the young father searched the Scriptures to find authorization for infant sprinkling. He failed to find it. As a result, infant sprinkling was definitely rejected, and immersion was accepted as the only Scriptural form of baptism. By rejecting all other forms of baptism the Campbells, of course, greatly narrowed their platform for Christian union. But the Scriptures must be obeyed and the members of the Brush Run Church were immersed. With the acceptance of immersion the movement had taken on all the principal characteristics which have distinguished it through the years, and from this time on Alexander Campbell became the master spirit, while the father receded more and more into the background.

Although the Campbells did not agree in every respect with the Baptists as to the meaning of baptism, their acceptance of immersion as the only true mode brought an invitation to the Brush Run Church to join the Redstone Baptist Association. This invitation was accepted, and from 1813 to 1830 the Campbells and their followers were nominally Baptists.

In 1814 Campbell's father-in-law, John Brown, deeded him his fine farm, which relieved him of financial uncertainty for the remainder of his life but which in the long run was to prove a liability to the movement rather than an asset. Campbell refused compensation for his preaching and became an ardent advocate of an unsalaried ministry. This was, of course, all well enough for him because he was always beyond the need of it and died the richest man in West Virginia. But his attacks upon a

salaried ministry made the ministry odious to many people and crippled his own movement in its formative stage.

For the next fifteen years Alexander Campbell was a veritable crusader in the cause of promoting the "restoration of the ancient order of things" within the Baptist fold. The first part of this period was devoted mainly to reading and study while he carried on the management of his large farm, interspersed with more and more frequent preaching excursions. The great emphasis in his preaching was, to use his own words, "to separate the truth from the traditions of men, and to persuade men to give up their fables for the truth." The natural result of this type of preaching was to create parties for and against his position wherever he went. He was eternally pleading a cause and his method was argumentative to the last degree. His bitter opposition to established institutions, such as missionary societies, Sunday schools, and Bible societies (because they were not authorized by the Scriptures), and his bold advocacy of a new conception of baptism in which he connected the gift of the Holy Spirit with the act of baptism, brought forth challenges to debate the issues.

In 1823 Campbell established a little monthly paper called the *Christian Baptist*, issued from his home in Brooke County, Virginia, which was continued until 1830 when it was absorbed by the *Millennial Harbinger*. The *Christian Baptist* was devoted primarily to sweeping denunciations of every institution of the church which did not have a literal scriptural basis. Campbell was a master of biting sarcasm, of strong assertion, and as we read the little paper today we are struck by its dogmatism and literalism. But the paper was widely read for that period and the cause promoted through its influence.

The first body of adherents to the Campbell movement were drawn almost entirely from the Baptist fold, since the circulation of Campbell's paper and his preaching activities were largely confined to it. Anticipating his expulsion from the Redstone Association, in 1823 he transferred his membership to the Mahoning Baptist Association in northeastern Ohio, and after 1827, largely through the flaming evangelism of Walter Scott, that association came over almost bodily into the Campbell movement.

Campbell's spectacular debates, especially those with Robert Owen, "king of skeptics," and the Catholic Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati, gave him wide fame as a debater. Both debates were held in Cincinnati in the largest Methodist church in the city, Wesley Chapel. The debate with Owen was on the question of the truth or falsity of the Christian religion, while that with Bishop Purcell was over the question of the differences between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. Both debates attracted great audiences and when published in book form enjoyed a large circulation, the Campbell-Owen debate being republished in England. Three of Campbell's debates were with Presbyterian ministers on the question of baptism. Besides these major clashes on the platform he conducted several running debates in the columns of the *Millennial Harbinger*, one with a Universalist being carried on for two years. His last great debate, which lasted sixteen days, was with Dr. Nathan L. Rice, a leading Presbyterian minister of the period. The subject was Presbyterianism *vs.* Campbell's theology. The place was Lexington, Kentucky, and Henry Clay presided.

By the latter twenties the movement which Campbell had fathered had reached the stage where it could no longer remain within the Baptist fold and separation began to

take place. About this same time co-operation with the Barton W. Stone movement began to be agitated by Campbell in the columns of the *Millennial Harbinger*. This went forward rapidly between the years 1831 and 1835 and by 1840 the amalgamation was practically complete, the Stone movement adding a large and important evangelical element which Campbell's group had formerly lacked. By the opening of the Civil War the membership of the Disciple churches numbered about six hundred thousand.

Campbell lived in a border state during the whole of the slavery controversy and his views on slavery were therefore of large significance. In 1829 he was elected a member of the Virginia Constitutional convention. His skill in debate was a constant surprise to the many distinguished members of the convention, and James Madison who was one of the members pronounced Campbell the greatest man in it. In 1845 Campbell, through the columns of the *Millennial Harbinger*, set forth his views on slavery, stating that he had always been an anti-slavery man but never an abolitionist. Since the Bible recognized the relations of master and slave he was unwilling to make slavery a bar to Christian fellowship. Thus he opposed the division of the churches over the slavery issue, and when the war came he opposed that also, since he was unwilling to combat one anti-Christian practice with another.

In many respects Alexander Campbell was ahead of his time both in his theology and in his interpretation of the Bible. In 1816, when twenty-seven, he preached a sermon on "The Law" in which he advocated progressive revelation, stating that the teaching of Jesus and not the law of Moses was the principal authority for the Christian; that the Old Testament was not of equal authority with the

New. This was particularly obnoxious to the great majority of orthodox ministers of the time who held that every part of Scripture was of equal authority. Campbell was greatly influenced in his theology by John Locke's philosophy. As a youth under his father's instruction he had read Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding*, and ever afterwards held that a knowledge of God may be gained through normal and natural means. Thus there was no emotional extravagance under his presentation of the gospel. All that was necessary, in his view, to become a Christian was simply "to obey the gospel," an expression which became widely used by his followers.

The latter years of his life were given over principally to the Administration of Bethany College which opened its doors for students in 1841 with Campbell as president. He considered the college the crowning work of his life and all his energies were devoted to it. His fame attracted students from every section of the Mississippi valley, and some came from England and even from far-away Australia.

Alexander Campbell's life was filled with deep sorrow as well as ceaseless activity. His first wife died of consumption in 1827, leaving him with a large family of small children. Within nine months he married a friend of his first wife, Selina H. Backewell. Altogether he was the father of fourteen children—eight by his first and six by his second wife—several of whom died in childhood. The death of his first wife, to whom he was devoted, chastened and subdued his temper, and from that time forward he was less iconoclastic and literalistic. The end of his own life came just as the Civil War ended and his body was laid to rest in a burial plot on his farm where lay his first wife and most of his children.

Alexander Campbell brought to the American frontier a salient and healthful influence. He did his work and advanced his common-sense ideas in regard to religion at a time when excessive emotionalism dominated the religious life of the people of the West. By showing that the beginning of the Christian life was not dependent upon ecstatic emotional experience, but rather upon the simple acceptance of Jesus as Lord and by joining a Christian fellowship, he gave what exactly fitted the needs of thousands. And for this reason, more than for any other, his "reform movement" grew and waxed strong.

CHAPTER VI

MISSIONARY HEROES

One of the principal motives in the early colonization of America, whether of Catholic Spain or France or of Protestant England was the desire to spread the Christian faith. The Spanish conquest of America was to a large degree a crusade to bring Catholicism to the American Indians and zealous Catholic padres accompanied practically every colonizing expedition. The immediate success attending these early Catholic missionary enterprises was truly astonishing, a single missionary often baptizing literally thousands of natives within the course of a single year. Thus by the time England was ready to plant her first permanent colonies in America the Catholic missionaries of Spain had brought tens of thousands of American Indians to at least a nominal acceptance of Christianity.

One of the frequent arguments used to advance the cause of English colonization was that it would serve to bring true Christianity to the savages. Though religion was frequently used as a decoy to attract the religiously minded to a larger support of colonizing schemes and much that was said about the great desire to convert the natives was pious fraud, nevertheless there was undoubtedly a real and sincere missionary purpose on the part of many of the leaders of colonizing enterprises.

BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS

At the head of the long line of missionary heroes of colonial America stands the name of Bartolomé de las Casas, the first Catholic priest to be ordained in America, known to history as the Apostle to the Indians. Convinced that the natives were being exploited by the Spanish colonists, he resolved to devote his life to their protection. He was appointed official protector of the Indians by Cardinal Ximenez, and made many visits to Spain to urge upon the authorities the establishment of an adequate curb upon the virtual enslavement of the Indians in the colonies under the system of *encomienda*. Finally succeeding in securing the enactment of laws to regulate the relationship between Spaniards and Indians, in 1542 he returned to America only to find that the royal officials refused to enforce them. Greatly depressed because of this failure, but determined to continue his work for the Indians, he proceeded to gather materials picturing the cruelties practiced upon the natives by the Spaniards, and so dark was the picture that Spanish character has been blackened by it to this day.

As a whole the story of the contact of Europeans whether Catholic or Protestant with the natives of America has been a painful one of cruelty and exploitation, and yet there have been many apostles to the Indians since the days of the noble Las Casas.

JOHN ELIOT

In the charter granted to the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1628 it was directed that the colonists should be "so religiously, peaceably, and civilly governed, as their good life and orderly conversation may win and incite the Na-

tives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind and the Christian faith, which in our Royal intention, and the Adventurers' free profession is the principal end of the Plantation." Thus in accordance with the above profession it was entirely appropriate that the seal of the colony should be an Indian with a label at his mouth containing the words "Come over and help us." In 1622 James I had declared in a proclamation that the chief motive which led him to encourage the plantations in the New World was his desire to spread the gospel.

Just before the beginning of New England colonization a great epidemic of smallpox, brought to America by European fishermen, had swept off many thousands of the New England Indians, probably decreasing the Indian population by half. This great disaster was responsible, no doubt, for making the natives more tractable, and the introduction of Christianity among them more acceptable.

Although the New England Puritans professed an interest in the conversion of the natives from the beginning, the work of establishing their homes in the new land was so difficult that nearly a whole generation elapsed before any attempt was made to carry their intentions into systematic operation. Another reason for the delay on the part of the New England ministers in beginning their missionary effort was the language barrier. The colonists began to trade with the Indians at once, but that could be accomplished by means of signs, and with little knowledge of their language; but to impart religious truth was quite another matter. To do this the missionary must acquaint himself with the Indian mode of thought, and that required

a knowledge of the Indian tongue. Abounding in consonants and devoid of euphony the Indian tongue was indeed, as Roger Williams characterized it, a "Rocky speech." Thus it was not until the sixteen forties that any protracted evangelization of the Indians was undertaken by the English colonists, and that in two separate places at about the same time, one project under John Eliot near Roxbury, Massachusetts, and the other on the island of Martha's Vineyard by Thomas Mayhew, Jr., and after 1657 by Thomas Mayhew, Sr.

The son of a middle class farmer, born some twenty-five miles north of London in Essex, probably in 1604, John Eliot entered Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1619 and graduated Bachelor of Arts in 1622. We know little more of his early life than that revealed by these bare facts. In 1629 or 1630 he was assisting Thomas Hooker, later to be the father of Connecticut, in conducting a school at Little Baddow, as Hooker had been silenced from further preaching by Archbishop Laud and had no other means of securing a livelihood. It was during the brief stay under Thomas Hooker's roof that John Eliot, according to his own testimony, experienced a vivid conversion; for he states that it was while he was in Hooker's home that

The Lord said unto my dead soul, *live*; and through the grace of Christ I do live, and I shall live forever!

Association with Thomas Hooker made him a Puritan, too, and the same necessity which drove Thomas Hooker to the New World caused him also to leave his native land. Accordingly he took passage on the ship *Lyon*, the same vessel which the year before had brought out Roger Williams,

and on November 4, 1631, he landed in Boston, leaving his intended wife Hannah Mumford to follow.

After supplying the pulpit of the church at Boston during the temporary absence of the minister, John Wilson, Eliot became the teacher of the church at Roxbury, which had been established by some of his English friends in July, 1632. Here he remained for fifty-seven years, and although his fame is due to his work as an Indian missionary, he did not neglect for that work the care of his Roxbury parish. That he was a good pastor is evident from the carefully kept records of the Roxbury church, and from the testimony of contemporaries. It is Cotton Mather who tells us that he supplied his congregation with "food and not froth" and that he "carried much of *religion* with him from the house of God." He was continually making "some holy observation" on the commonplace things about him. Calling upon a man of business whose account books were on the table, while his religious books were on the shelf, he remarked: "Sir, here is earth on the table, and heaven on the shelf; let not earth by any means thrust heaven out of your mind."

He was generous and charitable to a fault. Indeed if it had not been for his wife, who attended to his worldly affairs besides managing the family of eight children, Eliot would have enjoyed little of worldly comfort. An officer of the Roxbury church, knowing Eliot's openhandedness to the poor, once handed a portion of his salary to him tied up tightly in a handkerchief, lest he should give part of it away before reaching home. On his way homeward Eliot stopped to visit a family in distress, and immediately he was eager to give material aid. He tried in vain to untie the knot that held the money, but it would not loosen. Finally

handing the handkerchief with all its contents to the mother of the house, he said: "There, there, take it all. The Lord evidently meant it all for you."

Why John Eliot more than any other minister of the period should have undertaken Indian evangelization is not clear. He had, very evidently, a large humanitarian interest and the degradation of the Massachusetts Indians was terribly evident. He had also a keen linguistic interest: he had distinguished himself in philology at Cambridge. And he held to the belief, as did many others of the time, that the Indians were the lost ten tribes of Israel, and as such had a special claim upon the Christian church. But to his friend and neighbor General Gookin—who later (1656) was appointed by the Massachusetts government superintendent of its Indian subjects—John Eliot revealed his motives:

First, the glory of God in the conversion of these poor desolate souls; secondly, his compassion and ardent affection to them as of mankind in their great blindness and ignorance; thirdly . . . to endeavor . . . [to fulfill and accomplish] the covenant and promise that New England people had made unto their king when he had granted them their patent. . . .

The first step taken by Eliot in preparation for his Indian work was to take into his house a young Indian who had acquired some knowledge of English, and with his help to begin the mastery of the dialect of the Massachusetts tribe. For fourteen years Eliot labored with the language before he felt equipped to begin his work. It was in September, 1646, that he made the initial attempt to preach to the Indians, but this resulted in arousing little of spiritual

interest among them. Not discouraged Eliot tried again a month later, this time on another tack. Then in the wigwam of Chief Waabon at Nonantum he preached to the Indians, men, women and children, gathered together at the invitation of Waabon. He did not venture to pray in Indian, his prayer was in English; but the discourse, which was an hour and a quarter in length, was in the Indian tongue and we are told it dealt with "all the principall matter of religion" beginning with the repetition of the Ten Commandments, showing the wrath of God against all who broke them, and that Jesus Christ was the only means of recovery from "sinne and wrath and eternal death."

The questions asked by the Indians showed that their interest had been aroused and their consciences stirred. A third meeting in Waabon's wigwam in November brought some of his hearers to Eliot's house, concerned for their own souls and asking that their children be taught.

The success attending these early missionary efforts was soon noised about through the colony, and in May, 1647, the Massachusetts General Court voted Eliot £10 "in respect of his greate paines & charge in instructing ye Indians in ye knowledge of God." In June of the same year Eliot preached in the presence of the Cambridge Synod, then in session, to a great gathering of the Indians in their own tongue, while contributions began to come from Puritan friends and sympathizers in England.

Another immediate result of the news of the "Day-Breaking . . . of the Gospell with the Indians in New England" (the title of Thomas Shepard's pamphlet published in London in 1647) was the passage by the Long Parliament on July 27, 1649, of an Act establishing the first English foreign missionary society, the "President and So-

ciety for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England." Under the direction of the Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell a general fund amounting to more than eleven thousand pounds was raised in England and Wales and was invested in real estate. From this time forward the Indian missionary activities in New England were largely financed by this society, £520 being expended in New England in 1658 alone. Of this sum £190 went for the education of nine Indian youths at Roxbury and Cambridge, while John Eliot received £50 annually as his salary from the Society, as did other Indian missionaries. In fact in the above year there were fifteen on the Society's payroll in New England, of whom seven were Indian and eight English. The commissioners of the united colonies forming the New England confederation acted as the American agents of the corporation in the management of its affairs and the distribution of its funds.

To John Eliot and indeed to all the early Indian missionaries, Catholic and Protestant alike, Christianity, Western civilization and Western education were inseparably united. Hence the necessity of bringing the Indians together into settled villages where they might learn the arts of civilization, where schoolhouses and meeting houses might be erected. Accordingly, within a few years after success began to attend Eliot's preaching the first town of praying Indians was formed. By 1674 there were thirty-three villages of praying Indians, numbering about four thousand souls. Eleven hundred were in the villages immediately under Eliot's supervision, while about two thousand were in the Massachusetts islands under the Mayhews. Natick was the first and best known of these Indian villages. Located only a few miles from Boston, on the Charles

River, it was founded in 1651. Eliot drew up a form of government for the villages, and as Cotton Mather tells us, the Indians "utterly abandoned that *poligamy* which had hitherto been common among them; they made severe laws against *fornication*, *drunkenness*, and *sabbath-breaking*, and other immoralities." But it was not until 1660 that the first church was organized on the congregational model—which, by 1674, had fifty members.

The crowning achievement of John Eliot's missionary career was his translation of the Old and New Testaments into the Indian tongue. The only previous attempt to reduce the Indian dialects to writing had been that of Roger Williams. How Eliot found time and strength to perform such a stupendous task, in the midst of the many demands upon him is, as Willston Walker remarks, "one of the marvels of missionary accomplishment."

His first publication in the Indian language was a Catechism which appeared in 1654; in 1661 his Indian New Testament was printed in Cambridge and in 1663 the entire Indian Bible. Twenty years later a second edition of both the New Testament and the entire Bible were published. Among his other translations in the Indian tongue were *Baxter's Call to the Unconverted* in 1664; Bayly's *Practice of Piety*, 1665; in 1666 appeared Eliot's *Indian Grammar Begun*, in 1669 an *Indian Primer*; and in 1689, the year before his death, a translation of Shepard's *Sincere Convert*. Besides these he wrote numerous tracts telling of his Indian work, which circulated both in America and in England.

King Philip's War which swept over southeastern New England in 1675-1676, as far west as the Connecticut River, was a great blow to Christian work among the Indians. The

War tested the sincerity of the Indian converts, at least in the eyes of the colonists. Most of them remained faithful to the English, and some even took some part in the War on the English side, but some of the converts allied themselves to their savage kinsmen, and vied with their heathen associates in the cruelties inflicted upon the English. One of the results was the feeling of indiscriminate resentment against the Indian, Christian or heathen. But the missionary work was by no means destroyed, and in 1698, eight years after the death of Eliot, there were seven Indian churches and twenty places where schools were conducted and preaching maintained.

An estimate of John Eliot's work is difficult to make. In the first place his work was not permanent. But this was because the Indians were a dying race, and his work has disappeared because the Indians themselves have disappeared. The influence however of his devotion to the work of taking the gospel to a needy race has lived on, and constitutes one of the principal tributaries to the great stream of missionary zeal which has continued to our own time.

DAVID BRAINERD

The largest single influence in promoting the cause of Protestant missions in America throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century was the life of David Brainerd. Although he died at twenty-nine and the length of time in which he was engaged in active missionary work among the Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey Indians was but four years, the publication of his *Journal* by the "Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge," and of his *Memoirs and Diary* by Jonathan Edwards, immediately after his death, proved to be the most power-

ful missionary propaganda of the time. In fact for more than two generations Brainerd's life was to many a manual of religious guidance.

David Brainerd was born at Haddam, Connecticut, April 20, 1718, into a family of some prominence—the third son in a family of nine children. Of very sober and religious turn of mind, he was concerned from early childhood with the state of his soul. He was never strong, developing in young manhood the first symptoms of tuberculosis, and his terrific inner struggles throughout his life suggest a pathological thread interwoven with the grim background of Calvinistic theology. His conversion occurred in 1739 and the next fall he entered Yale College to prepare for the ministry.

While at Yale he was strongly influenced by the great New England revivals, being one of several students who were openly favorable to them. In conversation with some of his intimate friends in the hall of the college after the chapel services one day during the winter of 1742, he was overheard by a freshman to remark that one of the tutors, Mr. Whittelsey, who had just conducted the chapel service, had "no more grace than this chair." The freshman repeated Brainerd's remark to a certain woman of the town who at once went to the Rector of the college with her information. Now Brainerd had attended a separate or revivalist meeting in New Haven which had been forbidden by the Rector, and was also reported to have made a disrespectful remark concerning the Rector's fining students for following Mr. Gilbert Tennent; for these several causes he was expelled from the college. Influential ministers interceded to bring about his reinstatement, and later he offered to apologize to the whole college for his

remarks, but the authorities refused to permit him to finish his course in spite of the fact that he had stood first in his class in scholarship.

Brainerd's expulsion from Yale College aroused the revivalistic ministers who strongly disapproved of the course the college had taken: one of the reasons leading to the founding of the College of New Jersey a few years later. At least the first three presidents of Princeton were among Brainerd's strongest supporters. His unfortunate experience naturally turned Brainerd's mind in upon himself, and helps account for the morbid introspections which abound in his diary; for example: "Saw much of my nothingness most of this day"; "saw so much of the wickedness of my heart, that I longed to get away from myself"; "I felt almost pressed to death with my own vileness. O what a body of death is there in me!"

"The Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge" organized in 1709, having been informed of the wretched conditions of the New Jersey and Pennsylvania Indians through the letters of Jonathan Dickinson and Aaron Burr, Sr., agreed to sustain two missionaries among them. In November, 1742, David Brainerd received appointment as one of these missionaries, and the next spring he began his work, residing some twenty miles south of Stockbridge, at a place called Kaunaumeeck in Massachusetts. He spent considerable time at Stockbridge with John Sargeant studying the Indian language, riding back and forth through the forest. His stay at Kaunaumeeck lasted for almost a year when on his advice the Indians removed to Stockbridge. He was instructed to begin work among the Delawares at the Forks of the Delaware, near where Easton now stands, and since he was laboring under a Presbyterian

Society he accepted ordination by the Presbytery of Newark, New Jersey, in June of 1744. During the year at the Forks of the Delaware he made a visit to the Indians on the upper Susquehanna, riding the one hundred and twenty miles through a rough, wooded country. Later two other visits were paid to these mixed tribes on the Susquehanna.

The remaining two years of Brainerd's life were spent in New Jersey, the first at Crossweeksung and the last year at Cranberry, to which place he had persuaded the Indians to remove. Here he had his greatest success, a success which to his contemporaries seemed most remarkable. Toward the close of his first year among the Delawares he had baptized thirty-eight adults; for his last year we have no statistics, but probably the numbers were considerably increased. The important thing however about the career of David Brainerd was not the number of his converts, but the influence exerted by his life of devotion, despite weakness and suffering, upon his contemporaries. Telling of his journey to his new field of labor at the Forks of the Delaware he writes:

Rode several hours in the rain through a howling wilderness, although I was so disordered in body that little or nothing but blood came from me.

In his long, lonely journeys he was often lost in the wilderness and compelled to spend the night without shelter. He tells in one instance of wandering "over rocks and mountains, down hideous steeps, through swamps and most dreadfil and dangerous places" while all the time he was in extreme pain so that every step he took distressed him. Once he spent several weeks together sleeping on the ground; once he was caught in a great northeasterly storm

and came near perishing. During one year he traveled four thousand miles.

Brainerd introduced no new methods in his work among the Indians, though he did not identify Christianity and civilization but tried to make his Indians conscious of the evils in so-called Christian civilization as well as those among the so-called heathen. His concern was for the salvation of souls. He preached and catechized, gave private instruction, opened schools for the Indian children, schools supported largely with funds secured by his personal solicitation. His salary was forty pounds a year, but in three years he spent three hundred pounds of his own money besides his salary, upon his Indian work. He attempted to persuade the Indians to live in compact and permanent communities and encouraged agriculture among them. But his chief concern was to arouse in his Indian hearers a conviction of sin and to bring about their conversion. That he had the satisfaction of seeing something of this sort accomplished is shown by this statement:

I know of no assembly of Christians where there seems to be so much of the presence of God, where brotherly love so much prevails, and where I should take so much delight in the public worship of God in general as in my own congregation, although not more than nine months ago under the power of pagan darkness and superstition.

By April, 1747, pulmonary consumption had made such inroads that he was compelled to leave his work. Proceeding by slow stages to Boston where he spent June and July, and where he consulted a physician, he came in the latter part of July to the home of Jonathan Edwards at Northampton, knowing that his time on earth was short.

Here he was tenderly nursed for nineteen weeks by Jerusha Edwards, the eighteen-year-old daughter of Jonathan and Sarah Edwards to whom he was betrothed. To her he said on October 4, five days before his death:

If I thought I should not see you, and be happy with you in another world, I could not bear to part with you. But we shall spend a happy eternity together.

And their separation was not for long, for on February 14, 1748, after a short illness of a few days only, she too died. And her father said of her, "She was a person of much the same spirit with Brainerd . . . she had not seen one minute for several years, wherein she desired to live one minute longer, for the sake of any other good in life, but doing good, living to God, and doing what might be for his glory."

Henry Martyn, whose story of devotion to India rivals in influence that of David Brainerd, was made a missionary by reading the life of Brainerd; William Carey read the life of Brainerd and determined to give his life to the spread of the Christian message; Thomas Coke, the father of Methodist missions, was inspired to open the first Methodist missions in the English West Indies and later in India by reading of David Brainerd. John Wesley published Brainerd's life in abbreviated form and distributed it among his Methodist societies; Francis Asbury wished that Brainerd's life might be known to his preachers that it might inspire them to equal devotion. Samuel Marsden, the first Christian missionary to New Zealand, had found in David Brainerd his inspiration. Thus by spreading broadcast throughout the Christian world the story of this life of suffering and devotion, David Brainerd dead became a

greater influence for the spread of the missionary spirit than David Brainerd alive.

ADONIRAM JUDSON

The torch of modern missions which had been lighted in the seventeenth century burned but dimly at the end of the eighteenth. The principal reason for this fact was that religion itself was at low ebb. But the torch had not completely gone out, and beginning in the seventeen nineties a whole set of new influences were beginning to be felt, which were soon to revive the flickering torch to a mighty flame. We can do no more than merely to name these influences.

One such influence, without which the feverish benevolent activities of New England during the first half of the nineteenth century cannot be explained, is known as Hopkinsian theology. The principal emphasis in this new phase of New England Calvinism was what is known as disinterested benevolence. This view was that one must be willing, nay even anxious, to be damned if by any chance that could be made to redound to the glory of God. It held that true virtue, as Edwards had contended, consisted of love to being in general; love to man as well as love to God. Out of this evolved the doctrine of the general atonement of Christ. That is, Christ died for all: for Indians, Negroes, and the heathen, as well as for New England Congregationalists. It was the influence of Samuel Hopkins' theology that furnished a good share of the dynamic which sent forth such devoted missionaries as Samuel J. Mills and Adoniram Judson.

Coupled with Hopkinsian theology was the influence of Methodism just beginning to be felt in America, with its

emphasis upon the infinite love and pity of God and the incalculable worth of every immortal soul.

But there were other influences at work which helped spread the missionary spirit throughout the Western world. Following independence several of the American churches formed national organizations, a step which caused them to conceive of their tasks in terms of national need. Thus there arose a strong motive for home missions; for following the westward-moving population to their new homes in the West with the softening influences of the gospel. And as population pushed westward new contacts were made with the Indians, and their generally deplorable condition appealed to the sympathy of the benevolent-minded. The great revival with which the eighteenth century began created a widespread concern not only for the "unsaved" but also for the underprivileged.

Out of this background came not only missionary societies, both home and foreign, but societies for the distribution of the Bible, Tract societies, Sunday School unions, asylums for the deaf and the blind, organization of Negroes; societies for the emancipation of slaves, for the suppression of vice and intemperance, and for every other conceivable good cause.

An influence making for aroused interest in carrying the gospel to the "heathen" outside America was the widening of geographical knowledge as the result of the new discoveries of Captain Cook and Alexander von Humboldt. Captain Cook's voyages to the South Seas, and his report of that far-off region to the civilized world aroused Christian interest in the people inhabiting these distant lands. American shipping and commerce, cut off in the years immediately following independence by lack of trade agree-

ments with other nations, sought profitable trade in China, India, and the Malay peninsula; and the knowledge of these distant lands and people thus brought to America served to add to the feeling of concern and responsibility for the carrying of the gospel to needy people everywhere. It was therefore no accident that the first foreign missionaries to go out from America were ordained in the Congregational Church at Salem at whose docks lay many China clipper ships, whose captains and crews and cargoes had done so much to arouse New England interest in distant lands.

The most heroic figure among the first foreign missionaries who sailed from America to undertake the conversion of the "heathen" world is that of Adoniram Judson. A son of New England, born in the parsonage of a Congregational minister, Adoniram Judson graduated in 1807 from Brown University, then known as Providence College, at the age of nineteen. After a year of teaching, during which he overcame certain skeptical tendencies, he entered Andover Theological Seminary at its opening in 1808, graduating two years later. At Andover he came into contact with a little group of earnest students, graduates of Williams College, who had there dedicated themselves to the work of foreign missions. The leader of this group was Samuel J. Mills, who perhaps more than any other deserves the title "the father of foreign-mission work in America." Mills had entered Williams College (1806) imbued with the idea of devoting his life to the conversion of the heathen. At Williams he had organized a group of like-minded students into an association called "The Brethren." It was a secret organization made up of five members, and when four of its original number went to Andover in 1809 the

Constitution and the records of the Society were taken with them. At Andover the Society was soon functioning, and three new members were admitted, Adoniram Judson, Samuel Nott, and Samuel Newell. The object of the Society was to promote the cause of a mission or missions to the heathen, and no person was to be admitted who had obligation or engagement of any kind which would prevent him from going as a missionary to the heathen.

Similar societies were soon formed in other colleges. Middlebury College which had been founded in 1800 as a result of a religious revival sweeping over Vermont, soon had a Brethren's Society, and other groups were soon founded at Princeton, Hampden-Sydney, and other colleges throughout the country.

But how were these young men who had consecrated their lives to the work of foreign missions to get started in their great task? There was at that time no organization established in America to carry on such an undertaking. In 1792 the English Baptists had organized a society and William Carey had been sent to India. Three years later the London Missionary Society had been formed, made up of Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and some adherents of the Church of England; and similar organizations were springing up in Scotland and in the Netherlands. There were also numerous missionary societies forming in America, but they were local in character and their purpose was to promote missions to the frontier settlements or to the Indians. There was no organized group in America from whom these young Andover students could expect assistance.

This lack of means to send them on their mission greatly concerned them. They talked to their professors about

it; they wrote to the London Missionary Society and offered their services; and finally they sent a letter to the General Association of the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts. The memorial to this body was drawn up by Judson and signed only by Nott, for they feared that if all their group signed the petition the ministers would be "affrighted," since the sending of two young men on a foreign mission would seem far more feasible than sending six. It was on June 29, 1810, that the Massachusetts Association in response to this earnest petition formed the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*. Though organized by the Massachusetts Congregationalists it was intended from the start that the Board should be more than a Massachusetts Congregational Association, and its establishment marks the beginning of organized foreign missionary enterprise in America.

Immediately the enterprise met the approval of the Congregational churches, but there was much doubt as to the possibility of actually supporting foreign missionaries in far-off and little-known lands. The Massachusetts Legislature hesitated to grant the charter, since they doubted the propriety of sending money out of the country. The charter was obtained, however, in 1812. In February of that year a bequest of \$30,000 was received from a lady of Salem, Massachusetts (Mrs. Mary Norris), and the newly formed Society decided to send out five of the young men in whose hearts and minds the whole movement had originated. Samuel J. Mills, who had after all been the chief immediate instrument in awakening the missionary spirit, was unable to go, but Judson, Newell, Nott, Hall and Rice were sent forth to India. Mills remained in America, and became more useful to the cause than if he had sailed away

with the immortal five. Six years later he was buried at sea off the coast of Africa, whither he had gone on a voyage to look over prospects for the establishment of a colony of Christian Negroes under the auspices of the American Colonization Society. In 1812 and again in 1814 he had visited the new West and reported on conditions there, with the result that the American Bible Society had been formed.

It was a dramatic moment in the history of American Christianity when on February 6, 1812, Adoniram Judson, Gordon Hall, Samuel Newell, Samuel Nott, and Luther Rice were ordained together in Tabernacle Congregational Church in Salem, Massachusetts. It has become one of the most famous ordinations in history. Ministers and people flocked to the scene from the surrounding towns to see the five candidates kneel, to see the five celebrated New England ministers place their consecrating hands upon those bowed young heads, and to hear the preacher say: "By the solemnities of this day, you, Messrs. Judson, Nott, Newell, Hall and Rice, are publicly set apart for the service of God in the gospel of his Son among the heathen. You are the precursors of many that shall follow you."

Nor must we forget the two lovely brides whose consecration to the cause was as great as that of their husbands'. Ann Hasseltine Judson, the bride of a day, is pictured kneeling in the aisle near her husband. Harriet Atwood was also there, in three days to be married at eighteen to Samuel Newell,* and on November 30, nine months later, to die in the Isle of France aged nineteen, the first

* *Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Harriet Newell, Wife of the Rev. Samuel Newell, Missionary to India*, etc. (From the third Boston edition.) Lexington: T. T. Skillman, 1815. *Memoir of Mrs. Judson, Missionary to Burmah*, by James D. Knowles, Boston: Gould, Kendall, and Lincoln, 1849.

life to be given by America to the cause of foreign missions.

At the Salem wharf lay the ship *Caravan*, ninety feet long and twenty-six feet wide, ready to take the Judsons and the Newells on board. On February 19 they put to sea. Hall, Rice, and Nott hurried away to Philadelphia and the very day the *Caravan* sailed from Salem they took packet for Newcastle, Delaware, and on the twenty-fourth they too set sail in the ship *Harmony*.

Such is the story of the beginnings of American interest in foreign missions.

On the long voyage India-ward the young missionaries, knowing that they would come into contact with William Carey and the English Baptist missionaries already there, and thinking that they would be called upon to defend their own views on baptism, gave particular attention to that subject. But as they studied the Greek Testament they became convinced that the Baptists were right and the Congregationalists wrong. Mrs. Judson tells how she always took the Pedobaptist side in reasoning with her husband. After arriving in India they resumed their study, and were finally convinced. Later Luther Rice also, though sailing in a different vessel, was similarly convinced of the correctness of the Baptist views on baptism, and eventually Mr. and Mrs. Judson with Rice were immersed at the Baptist Church in Calcutta.

The announcement of these dramatic conversions to Baptist views, and the fact that the young Baptist converts had offered themselves to serve as Baptist missionaries, seemed a providential happening to many leading Baptists in America. Luther Rice returned to America to urge this appeal upon their immediate attention, while the Judsons

remained, and eventually established a permanent mission in Burma, the first American Baptist foreign mission.

When news reached the New England Baptists that the Judsons and Rice had embraced Baptist views and had offered themselves to serve as Baptist missionaries, a meeting of the leading Baptists of Boston and vicinity was at once called and a society was formed called *The Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel in India and Other Foreign Parts*. On his arrival from India Luther Rice began immediately to visit the various parts of the country and to form numerous local societies in all the important Baptist centers; and at length on May 18, 1814, there gathered in Philadelphia thirty-three delegates representing eleven states, a convention resulting in the formation of a national Baptist missionary society which took as its name *General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Missions*. The event was notable, not alone because it was the second national missionary society formed in America, but also because it was the first general organization of Baptists in the United States. The Judsons were accepted as their missionaries and Luther Rice was appointed agent of the convention to visit the Baptist churches throughout the country in the interest of missions.

It was in September of 1815 that the Judsons learned of these happenings in America. Soon they were joined by Mr. and Mrs. George Hough, the first missionaries to be sent out by the new Baptist Society.

It was not until 1819 that the first convert was made. Judson who possessed a remarkable language gift completed the translation of the New Testament into Burmese in 1823. In 1824 Judson and another missionary were seized

by the Burmese, as a result of the wars with Great Britain, and for two years experienced a living death. In 1826 Mrs. Judson died, and after eight years of loneliness and grief Judson married Mrs. Sarah H. Boardman, the widow of a Baptist missionary who had given his life to the Burma mission. About this time Judson finished his translation of the complete Bible into Burmese and in 1840 it was printed. In 1845 the second Mrs. Judson died as they were bound for America with their three children, in search of health for Mrs. Judson. While in America Judson married a third time. On his return to Burma he at once set out to finish the Burmese dictionary on which he had long been at work. But rapidly declining health intervened. A sea voyage in April of 1850, undertaken as the one chance to regain his health, proved of no avail and when only four days out he passed away, to be buried at sea.

JUNÍPERO SERRA

Scattered here and there throughout the vast region stretching from Florida to California, a region once a part of the great Spanish empire in America, are to be found the majestic ruins of Catholic missions. For many years these ruins were neglected and were little visited. But with the increase of automobile travel interest in these buildings has been revived so that everyone is now concerned with their preservation. And what a story of devotion and heroism they have to tell!

In the establishment of Spain's remarkable colonial empire the work of the padre missionaries played a conspicuous and even essential part. As Protestantism developed its peculiar frontier institutions, such as the camp-meeting, so the Catholic Spaniard developed his peculiar frontier reli-

gious and civilizing agencies, and of these the mission was by far the most important. Of course the primary purpose of the mission was to Christianize and civilize the Indian, but it also had political and economic uses. It was the primary agency in bringing the Indian under Spanish control. For instance as early as 1574 there were in all Spanish America nearly nine thousand Indian towns, largely the result of the padres' work, containing a total Indian population of about five millions, all of them subject to the payment of Indian tribute to the Spanish government. The missions were frequently the agency also by which Spain expanded her imperial boundaries. Thus it was not until Russia began to show an interest in California that the Spanish authorities became willing to co-operate in the establishment of missions there.

Since the missions rendered such valuable service to the state, they were largely financed, especially in their foundation stage, by government subsidies. So the Franciscan missions which pushed up into California in the latter eighteenth century received large government grants. Not only were the annual stipends to the missionaries, known as the *sinodos*, paid by the government, but the state authorities furnished the missionaries military protection as well, from two to a half dozen soldiers usually being stationed in each mission. In addition the government made an initial gift (*ayuda de costa*) of about \$1,000 to each mission to purchase bells, vestments, tools, and to pay other expenses, and sometimes appropriated additional money for buildings. Older missions often made grants to aid in the establishment of new missions, and there came to be in California a large endowment fund gathered by the missionaries, known as the *Fondo Piodoso*, or pious fund, which became

the principal support of the Franciscan missions in Upper California.

Many of the missions soon became self-supporting, and often acquired great wealth in the form of cattle and rich agricultural lands, but none of this wealth ever went to the individual missionary.

Of all the many mission ruins within the boundaries of present-day United States those of California have perhaps the largest fame and have aroused the greatest interest. For that reason the life of Father Junípero Serra, the founder of the California missions, finds a place here, not that he is more worthy than hosts of other brave padres, though none ever displayed greater devotion or achieved greater success in his labor of Indian Christianization.

On the first day of the year 1750 a band of twenty-one Franciscans, bound for the Apostolic College of San Fernando in Mexico City, arrived in Vera Cruz. It had been a long and perilous voyage lasting ninety-nine days. Food and water had become scarce, and two days out from Vera Cruz a terrible storm had nearly destroyed the little vessel. On arriving at the principal port of New Spain they were hospitably received, and all of them with the exception of Francisco Palou, who was sick with a fever, set out for Mexico City. The leader of the band was Junípero Serra, thirty-six years of age, a native of the island of Majorca, who had long dreamed of a missionary career in the New World. He had studied at the University of Palma, at sixteen had entered the Franciscan Order and by eighteen had taken the final vows. He had been baptized Miguel José but when he completed his probation took the name Junípero, "after the gay tempered, light hearted disciple of Saint Francis" of whom the saint had said, "Would that

I had a whole forest of Juníperos." For fifteen years he held the professorship of philosophy at Palma and the prospect of future advancement was bright, but during all these years he had clung to the hope of some day realizing his dream of coming to New Spain. And now at last the dream was fulfilled.

Determined to follow to the letter the rule of St. Francis which forbade his followers to ride from post to post, Junípero determined to walk from Vera Cruz to Mexico City. It was a dangerous and wearisome undertaking, for although there was a well-traveled road between the two towns, highwaymen were common, and the journey was almost all uphill. Though Serra and his companion were not waylaid by robbers on the journey, he was bitten by a poisonous snake, receiving a wound which never healed and which made him lame for life.

The College of San Fernando in Mexico City was the headquarters of Father Junípero for nineteen years. The lusty young city was full of vulgar and obtrusive evidences of wealth, and Junípero felt impelled to "do penance for the sins of the people," since there was little inclination on their part to do penance for themselves. He wore hair-cloth and slept on boards, scourged himself with chains, beat his chest with a stone, even scorched his flesh with a taper while he preached. Such self-torture would be repugnant even to the Roman Catholic mind of our day, but the Indians and the rich and worldly-minded Spanish colonists were awed by the terrible sincerity of the preacher. Half his time Junípero spent in visiting distant monasteries and Indian missions. For three years he was the president of the Sierra Gorda missions in addition to his other duties, but he longed to devote all of his time to the work among

the natives, for whom he had a boundless sympathy. He was ever ready to forgive primitive shortcomings and his attitude toward them was always that of the understanding and compassionate father.

The suppression of the Jesuit Order in 1767 and its subsequent expulsion from all Spanish dominions was the determining factor in bringing the Franciscans into California. The Jesuits had been active in Lower California, but as yet no missions had been planted in Upper California. Spain however had now become aware of the danger of English or Russian encroachment and she determined to act to save that rich region for her own empire.

It was a fortunate circumstance that the viceroy of New Spain, Carlos Francisco de Croix, and the *visitador general*, José de Gálves, were high-minded and able officials and they determined at once to send colonizing expeditions into Upper California. Father Junípero Serra was appointed president of the new missions to be formed and fifteen additional Franciscans from the College of San Fernando were to be associated with him in the work. The colonizing enterprise was organized in two divisions, one to go by sea in two ships, the other by land. Father Junípero accompanied the second division of the land expedition, with five other Franciscans and twenty-five "leather-jacket soldiers" setting out from Vilicata in Lower California. We are fortunate in having Father Junípero's diary kept on the journey—now one of the treasures in the Newberry Library in Chicago—covering the period from March 28 to June 30, 1769. Gaspar de Portolá was commander-in-chief of the whole enterprise, a man in full sympathy with the work of the missionaries but faint-hearted and wavering. Though Father Junípero's ulcered leg gave him much dis-

comfort, he was fully alive to every happening of the expedition, as his diary discloses. The California Indians were rather low-grade savages, the males going completely unclothed, but Father Junípero was full of compassion for them, and he writes, "They have stolen my heart from me." On July 1, 1769, they arrived at the present site of San Diego to find the two ships in the harbor and the other land expedition in camp awaiting them. Fifteen days later the mission of San Diego de Alcalá was founded, the first of the nine missions to be formed along the California coast under Junípero Serra's direction. "Thus was laid the cornerstone of the civilization of California." Eventually there were to be twenty-one California missions.

They had been instructed by the viceroy to found two missions, the second on the Gulf of Monterey which had been visited in 1602 by the Spanish navigator Viscayno; but when Portolá returned from an exploring journey northward, disheartened and weary, having failed to locate the harbor of Monterey, he determined to give up the whole enterprise and return to Mexico. Serra, however, was determined to remain. One of the ships, the *San Antonio*, which had been sent to San Blas for supplies, was long overdue, and if it should come there would be provisions sufficient to justify their holding on. Would the ship never come! Serra reasoned with the *comandante*, he prayed, he pleaded with St. Joseph—whose feast day was the 19th of March—to speed the ship on its way. But Portolá went on with his preparations to depart, promising, however, to delay his going. Finally on April 11, 1770, the *San Antonio* sailed into the harbor and California was saved to Spain. And it was the unconquerable spirit of Junípero that had saved it.

In the summer of 1770, a second attempt to plant a mission at Monterey was made, and Serra decided to accompany it to make sure there would be no turning back again. This time there was both a land and sea expedition. Serra went by sea. The land expedition again under the command of Portolá reached the oval bay of Monterey without mishap, and fourteen days later the *San Antonio* sailed into the harbor with Serra on board. Everybody was jubilant, and hurried preparations were made to dedicate the new mission. Bells were hung on the boughs of a great oak under which an altar was erected, and soldiers, sailors, and padres gathered about it as Father Junípero said Mass while they all sang the *Veni Creator Spiritus* and the *Te Deum*. The mission was dedicated to San Carlos Borromeo and with its establishment the work of the expedition was finished. Portolá almost at once set sail for Mexico to receive the reward for his accomplishments, but Father Junípero, whose spirit and courage had been chiefly responsible for bringing success to the undertaking, remained at San Carlos, where he made his home for the remainder of his life. He returned but once to Mexico, in 1772, to plead with the viceroy, Antonio Maria Burcareli, to keep open the route by sea from San Blas to San Diego, and to seek the removal of the *comandante* who had succeeded Portolá—a fussy individual of small caliber. Junípero's requests all were granted, to the lasting benefit of the California settlements.

It will be impossible to tell the story of the founding of the other seven missions established under Father Junípero's presidency. San Antonio de Padua was founded July 14, 1771; San Gabriel Arcangel, September 8, 1771; San Luis Obispo, September 1, 1772; San Francisco de Asis, October 9, 1776; San Juan Capistrano, November 1, 1776;

Santa Clara de Asis, January 18, 1777; and San Buena Ventura, March 31, 1782. All were under the supervision of Father Junípero, who was tireless, in spite of declining strength, in his visits among them.

Associated with Junípero Serra during much of his life were two Franciscan friends who have left extensive *Journals*. One was Fray Juan Crespi and the other Francisco Palou. Both, like Serra, were natives of Majorca and were in the same mission when they came to America. Crespi preceded Serra to California, having been in the first land division of the expedition while Serra was in the second. His diaries have been translated and edited by Professor Bolton and form a body of indispensable materials for the understanding of the colonization of California. Palou joined Serra in California in 1773, serving as acting president while Serra was absent in Mexico. Three years later he founded the mission of San Francisco and when Serra died in 1784 succeeded him as president of the California missions for a short period. Later he became head of the College of San Fernando where he gave much of his time to the preparation of the life and apostolic labors of Serra, a work which gathers together much of what we know of Father Junípero.

In 1777 the Pope conferred upon Serra the privilege of administering confirmation, which greatly increased the burden of his work, since it entailed traveling constantly from mission to mission. In the course of two years he administered confirmation to more than two thousand persons. When in 1786 La Perouse, a French naval commander, visited the California coast, there were 5,143 Indians in the Upper California missions.

The *visitador general* Gálvez, in sending the first expedi-

tion to Upper California in 1769, had stated this as its purpose: "To establish the Catholic religion among the heathen people; to extend the dominions of the King our Sovereign; and to protect California from the ambitious projects of foreign nations." And when the bells of San Carlos mission tolled the death of Junípero Serra, the *presidente*, on August 28, 1784, all of these purposes had been fulfilled.

SHELDON JACKSON

Home missions as a phase of religious activity in America have been emphasized since the opening for settlement of the vast regions west of the Alleghenies. As people from the East began to push westward into the valley of the Ohio, or out the Mohawk into central and western New York, or over the passes of the Blue Ridge or the Great Smokies into Kentucky and Tennessee, there was a natural desire on the part of the old home communities to follow their neighbors and their children with the softening influence of religion. Thus there came into existence beginning in the seventeenth century a whole group of missionary agencies, especially in New England and the Central states, with this object in view. The Congregationalists and the Presbyterians were particularly active in forming the earliest agencies to carry on this type of work. At first these societies were local in scope, but with the formation of the American Home Missionary in 1826, the work was carried forward on a national scale. Other societies such as the American Tract Society, the American Bible Society, and the American Sunday School Union were co-operative agencies. These societies were interdenominational, though Presbyterian and Congregational influence dominated them. Meanwhile the other churches, especially the Baptists and the Methodists,

were forming denominational societies to carry on home missionary activities. The men and women who gave themselves to this type of Christian work were as sacrificial in their purpose as were those who went to China or India, or who worked for the evangelization of the American Indian.

No home missionary of any denomination more fittingly deserves to wear the title Christian Pathfinder than does Sheldon Jackson. He was born in the Mohawk valley of central New York in 1834 of loyal Presbyterian parentage, his father a ruling elder in the church at Esparence. Prepared for college at a Presbyterian academy at Haysville, Ohio, he entered his sophomore year in Union College at Schenectady in 1852, and was graduated three years later. At his baptism his parents had dedicated him to the ministry, which seems to have settled the matter, for he grew up with no other thought. He entered Princeton Theological Seminary in 1855 and was graduated in 1858.

He was a lad of slight build, physically small, and a frequent sufferer from poor health. He had spent his vacations while at Princeton Seminary as agent of two benevolent societies, work which had taken him into several of the central and western states. This experience, together with the unusual missionary interest of the time, enhanced by the story of the martyrdom of missionaries in India in the Sepoy rebellion, were responsible for Jackson's offering himself as a foreign missionary. The Board, however, thinking him physically unfit to engage in foreign mission work, offered him a teaching position among the Choctaw Indians in Indian Territory, and this post proved to be the beginning of one of the most remarkable missionary careers of recent times.

Before starting for his field of labor young Jackson was married to Mary Voorhees, the daughter of a neighbor back in New York, and together they began their new work in the Indian school to which he had been assigned. Frequent attacks of malaria and bilious fever, however, compelled his resignation at the end of a year. He now received a commission from the American Home Missionary Society and was sent to the churchless village of La Crescent, Minnesota. One of the characteristics of Jackson from the beginning to the end of his career was his broad interpretation of his assignments. Sent simply to La Crescent and the immediate vicinity he reached out to every community in striking distance. Eighteen counties were soon included in his parish, which meant constant travel, often on foot. He started Sunday Schools and churches, distributed Christian literature, secured pastors and missionary boxes and barrels for the needy. The coming on of the Civil War made it difficult to finance the work in Minnesota and in 1863 he accepted a temporary appointment with the United States Christian Commission, where he was occupied carrying on religious work among the soldiers until an attack of typhoid fever, contracted in the camp, caused his withdrawal.

From 1864 to 1869 he was the minister of the Presbyterian church in Rochester, Minnesota, where he also assisted in the establishing of Rochester Female Institute. The great flood of immigration pushing westward across the Mississippi and the Missouri in the years immediately following the Civil War was a challenge to Jackson to get into home missionary work again. His offer to go into this great unoccupied region was not accepted by the Board because of its financial inadequacy. But Jackson refused to be denied and offered himself to the Synod of Iowa to work

"independently of, but not in opposition to, the Board of Domestic Missions." Nine days after the last spike was driven on the Union Pacific Jackson began his work as superintendent of missions for western Iowa, Nebraska, Dakota, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, and Utah, "or as far as our jurisdiction extends," to use the words of the original commission. Jackson was now launched upon the kind of work which was to fill the remainder of his life.

Before eight months had passed he had ten new missionaries at work in five territories, supported largely by voluntary funds which Jackson was responsible in securing. Denver became his home and the center of his pioneering. Here in 1871 he established *The Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, a medium by which he hoped to interest the East in the needs of the West, and for ten years he sent the paper to every minister on the Assembly roll free of charge.

For twelve years, 1870-1882, Jackson ranged over the great Rocky Mountain section. During one period of sixteen days he formed seven churches. Journeys of from one to two thousand miles were not unusual for him—trips made possible by the granting of passes by the railroads and stage lines. Often he was in danger from the Indians; on one occasion he was mistaken for a highwayman and a half dozen revolvers were aimed at his head. At another time the stage coach in which he was riding tumbled over a mountain side, killing the horses and utterly wrecking the coach, but Jackson succeeded in saving his life by jumping. In the prairie states where lumber was scarce the problem of securing suitable church buildings was acute. To meet this dilemma Jackson had church buildings shipped in sections from Chicago.

The rules of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions

limited its work to English-speaking people. As a result the Spanish-speaking and the Indian populations of the great Southwest were utterly neglected. For seven years Jackson tried to change the policy, but his efforts were in vain. At last he determined to do something to overcome this stolid resistance, and in 1878, on his own initiative and over the disapproval of many leaders in the church, Jackson called a convention to meet in Pittsburgh. As a result there came into existence an organization which later developed into the Presbyterian Woman's Board of Home Missions, which today is one of the largest and most effective evangelistic agencies of its kind in the world.

Perhaps the most thrilling part of Sheldon Jackson's career was his work in Alaska. In 1877 he visited the territory for the first time to survey the possibilities for missionary work. He was accompanied by the widow of a missionary whose husband had rendered great service in New Mexico, Mrs. A. R. McFarland. On his own initiative he left Mrs. McFarland at work in Alaska, while he returned to the United States to secure support for her. This was typical of his procedure. He was never willing to delay the starting of work in a needy field, and forward he went, always hoping that somehow it could be supported. If the Board hesitated he secured voluntary contributions, but he saw to it that the work went on.

From 1882 to his retirement in 1907 Alaska was the scene of Jackson's principal activities. At first he met strong opposition on the part of his Presbyterian brethren, one of them protesting that "If all the people of Alaska were Christians, they wouldn't be worth as much to the country and the world as one live Christian in Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, or Idaho." But Jackson was too accustomed

to opposition to permit it to divert his course. Up to 1884 he had no official commission for work in Alaska, and during this period he divided his time between that territory and his Rocky Mountain field. But in the latter year he was appointed missionary to the church and congregation in Sitka, though in reality he unofficially carried on the work of superintendent of all the Presbyterian missions in the territory.

Soon after civil government was provided for Alaska by the federal government (1884) Jackson was appointed by the Secretary of the Interior to establish a public school system for the territory. This added responsibility he carried for the remainder of his active life. In this work he was constantly hampered by selfish interests and by the lack of sufficient funds, but after President Cleveland removed many of his opponents from office the work went forward more satisfactorily. From 1886 onward Jackson spent his winters in Washington and his summers in Alaska.

It has been said that if Sheldon Jackson had done nothing else but introduce the reindeer into Alaska his fame would be secure. According to his custom, when Jackson began his work in Alaska he made a thorough survey of the resources and the population of the region. His survey of Alaska revealed the fact that something must be done speedily if the Eskimo population of the territory was to survive. The whale, the walrus, and the seal, upon which the natives had depended largely for food, were rapidly disappearing, making necessary the finding of some other means of sustaining life. These facts were embodied in Jackson's 1890 report and in it he urged the introduction of the reindeer from Siberia. He estimated that northern and central Alaska were capable of supporting nine million

head of reindeer. By providing these animals he claimed a "barbarian people on the verge of starvation" could be lifted to a "comfortable self-support and civilization." A bill before Congress (1890-1891) appropriating \$15,000 for this purpose was crowded out, but Jackson, accustomed to such delays and disappointments, in 1892, on his own initiative, imported the first reindeer herd, numbering 171, from Siberia. In 1893 Congress made its first appropriation of \$6,000 for bringing in additional animals. Eventually 1,280 reindeer were imported and all the several ranges were stocked. From this stock there were in 1928 675,000 head of reindeer in the territory of Alaska, constituting one of the most valuable sources of the territory's wealth. In 1905 the natives owned 38% of all the reindeer in Alaska.

It has been estimated that on each of Jackson's twenty-six trips to Alaska he traveled from 17,000 to 20,000 miles, while the aggregate of his travels in the interest of his work, during the half-century of his active life, was but little short of one million miles. His books on Alaska had large influence in creating interest in that territory and its people, while his frequent reports contain a mine of accurate information.

His biographer summarizing the results of Sheldon Jackson's work states that in the nine states and three territories in which he labored there had been organized (1906) six synods, thirty-one presbyteries, 886 churches, with 77,105 communicants. The extent of his work is without parallel, "in the extent of the itinerary, the diversity of labor and the multifarious services" rendered to his fellow men. While he was a loyal Presbyterian he was no narrow denominationalist. He appealed to and worked in harmony with the Moravians, Baptists, Episcopalians, Friends, Meth-

odists, Congregationalists, Roman Catholics, and Orthodox Russians, helping them all to establish schools and missions and reindeer stations.

In 1897 the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America elected him Moderator of the General Assembly, the highest honor it could bestow.

A newspaper correspondent once described Sheldon Jackson as "short, bewhiskered, and bespectacled. By inside measurement a giant." It was tremendous faith, indomitable energy, and exceptional ability as an organizer that made Sheldon Jackson one of the most apostolic men of modern times.

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CHAPTER VII

NINETEENTH-CENTURY REVIVAL- ISTS AND REFORMERS

That period in modern history most similar to the one we have recently passed through is that from the close of the Revolution to the end of the eighteenth century. In political and economic conditions, in international affairs, in their religious and moral aspects, the two periods have much in common.

One of the uses of history is that it enables us to recognize what we see appearing over the horizon. Many of us have been dismayed by what we have witnessed in the world about us these score or more years. The very foundations of society seem to have been crumbling. Political revolutions have swept over the world, destroying governments and institutions long established; a world-wide economic depression has engulfed us, swallowing up the small savings of the common people and rendering the future distressingly uncertain. But most distressing of all to the person concerned about the preservation of spiritual values is what he beholds in the realm of religion and morals. At such a time it is well to recall that there have been other times such as these.

In the days following the American Revolution, France, to the orthodox, was a "kind of suburb to the world of perdition." To many her touch was pollution, her embrace death, and there were those who were fearful lest the

United States travel the same road. Indeed France was regarded by the world of that day much as Soviet Russia has been by ours. The French Revolution, to quote a contemporary, "had broken up the foundations of religion and morals, as well as government, and its influence continued to rage for some years with utmost fury, spreading its disastrous influence throughout the civilized world, and pouring upon our country a flood of infidel and licentious principles."

If France was the Russia of that day, deism and English and French rationalism was the humanism of the time. In America Thomas Paine was in great vogue. In 1793 he had published his *Age of Reason* and in that widely read and cleverly written pamphlet he attacked the conceptions of God which held that He played a dominant rôle in the lives of men. He ridiculed the Bible stories; he referred to the fable of Jesus Christ; he called the story of the Virgin Birth "blasphemously obscene." Ethan Allen, the hero of Ticonderoga, had published in 1784 his crude *Reason the Only Oracle of Man*, and while the arguments were "flimsy and unconvincing," to quote Timothy Dwight, still his reputation as a revolutionary hero gave it a wide circulation. Many of the national leaders, such as Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin, held to deistic principles, while there were numerous Jacobin Clubs, Societies of the Illuminati, Masonic Lodges, the Society of Ancient Druids, and numerous other organizations busy spreading the philosophy of nature and the gospel of reason.

It was a period in which organized religion was at a low ebb. All the churches in the new nation were passing through (to use the expressive term of the Baptist historian of Virginia, Robert Semple) "a very wintry season."

There was abounding moral laxity and religious indifference in all the colleges. The students were generally skeptics, rowdyism was rampant, and intemperance, profanity, gambling, and licentiousness were common among them.

It was also a period of economic troubles. Throughout the entire nation and indeed throughout the Western world economic conditions were unsettled; trade with Great Britain had been cut off since the opening of the War for Independence, and no trade treaties had as yet been made with other European countries, except with France, with the result that surplus products could not find a market, and shipping was tied up at the wharves. There was widespread deflation of the currency and debtors everywhere were unable to find money to meet their obligations. When Thomas Jefferson began to advocate new economic and political ideas many good people felt that he was striking at the very foundations of society. Like the conservative leaders of our own time, many people of that day saw only attempts to destroy their heavenly city and failed to see any indication of a new heavenly city arising. But after all it was arising.

TIMOTHY DWIGHT

When Timothy Dwight became president of Yale College in 1795, "The college was in a dreadful state of disorder, impiety and wickedness." There were 110 students, three buildings and a kitchen; three tutors, one professor, and an outworn curriculum. But even so it was the most distinguished post within the gift of the state of Connecticut and gave to its incumbent an influence unequaled in the state and unsurpassed throughout New England.

Timothy Dwight was born in Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1752, just two years following the dismissal of

his maternal grandfather, Jonathan Edwards, from the pulpit of the Northampton Church. His father, Major Timothy Dwight, a graduate of Yale College and intended for the law, was six feet four inches tall and by actual test as strong as an ox. His mother, Mary Edwards, was so petite that his father could actually hold her in the palm of his hand, but she bore him thirteen children, of whom Timothy was the oldest. The father was of so tender a conscience that he refused to practice the law, for which he was trained, because he considered it full of temptations to do wrong. Later as a judge, having taken the oath to the Crown, he felt that he could not take an active part in the American Revolution, though his sympathy was with the American cause. To relieve his family of embarrassment because of his scruples he, with two of his sons, went in 1776 to West Florida where he had purchased a part interest in a Crown grant. Here he died the following year, leaving the responsibility of his family largely on the shoulders of his eldest son. At the time of his father's death Timothy was chaplain of a Connecticut regiment stationed at West Point. He resigned this post on January 28, 1779, to take charge of his own and his mother's family affairs at Northampton.

As a child young Timothy was remarkably precocious. Under his mother's instruction he learned the alphabet in one day; he could read the Bible with correctness at four; was sent to grammar school at six and began the study of Latin by using the books of the older boys while they were at play. At thirteen he entered Yale College, being graduated at seventeen in 1769. At fifteen he experienced conversion, and with it there came an ambition to conquer all knowledge, and he resolved to spend fourteen hours a day

in study. This resolve he kept to the permanent detriment of his eyes, arising at 4:30 in the summer and at 5:30 in the winter. When he returned to Yale in 1771 as tutor he limited himself to taking his meals in twelve mouthfuls which practice soon so undermined his health that he was compelled to spend a year in recuperation by walking and horseback riding throughout New England and New York, making observations of nature and people. These journeys he continued at intervals throughout his life and they became the basis for a work which has had more permanent value than any of his other writings, *Travels in New England and New York* (4 volumes, 1821-1822).

While a tutor at Yale he gained great popularity as a teacher. His interest was literature, composition, and oratory, and he sought to popularize these subjects in the college curriculum. The beginnings of the "Hartford Wits," a group of Connecticut writers, most of them Yale graduates, interested in giving to America a worthy body of literature, dates from Timothy Dwight's tutorship at Yale. His master's dissertation (1772) on the history, eloquence, and poetry of the Bible, was an entirely new approach, and soon appeared in print on both sides of the Atlantic. His interest in this phase of literature continued throughout his life. He was the author of two long and labored poems, the first, called the *Conquest of Canaan*, written previously but first published in 1785, the second, *Greenfield Hill* (1794), which put into verse his observations of the scenery, history, and life of the people about him. He was the author also of hymns and patriotic songs, several of the latter composed while he was a chaplain in the Revolutionary army. The only one of his hymns still commonly used is "I Love Thy Kingdom, Lord." Such was his popu-

larity as an instructor that in 1777 when the college was looking for a new president the students urged him for the position, though he was but twenty-five at that time. While a tutor Dwight married (May 3, 1777) Mary Woolsey who bore him eight sons.

For five years Dwight took upon himself the double care of his mother's family together with his own. At the time of his return to Northampton ten of his brothers and sisters were under twenty-one years of age. Here he managed two large farms, working in the fields with the hired men, who, as his brother tells us, "used to contest for the privilege of mowing next to Timothy, that they might hear him talk." During these years he occasionally appeared in the former pulpit of his maternal grandfather or went into neighboring parishes to relieve ailing preachers. He also served a term in the state legislature (1781-1782), and to add to the family income, established a school at Northampton which became famous throughout New England. Just at the close of the Revolution he accepted a call to the Greenfield, Connecticut, church, then one of the most influential Congregational churches in the state. Here he remained twelve years (1783-1795), adding to his already wide reputation, which made him the logical successor to President Ezra Stiles at Yale College.

His salary at Greenfield was five hundred dollars and the use of six acres of land and twenty cords of wood. Though he cultivated a fine vegetable and flower garden and split his own firewood, he found it necessary to increase his income to meet the expense of his growing family of sons. This he accomplished by starting an academy to which he was accustomed to devote six hours of each day. The school gained a wide reputation, and its competition with Yale

College was such as to arouse the ire of President Stiles. He introduced the Lancastrian system and was one of the first to offer instruction in the higher branches to women students. But with all these activities he did not neglect his church, nor his sermon preparation. Though never able to read more than a few minutes each day because of weak eyes and severe pain in his head, he developed a method of preaching which entirely freed him from dependence upon manuscript notes and gained him a reputation as the most effective preacher in New England. While at Greenfield he preached twice through his system of theology, which was later published in numerous editions both in England and America. In 1787 Princeton granted him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and in 1791 he was invited to preach the election sermon at Hartford.

Such was the background and training of Timothy Dwight as he entered upon the presidency of Yale College at forty-three years of age. Six feet in height, with full round manly form, his head molded for beauty, with a full forehead and piercing black eyes, he presented a truly noble aspect. His voice was clear, hearty, and sympathetic. Tenacious of memory, with a capacity for keen and minute observation, his mind stored with a wealth of information, he could talk intelligently with men in every walk of life. He was sound of judgment, possessed an abundant supply of common sense. He was "every inch a college president."

For twenty-two years (1795-1817) Timothy Dwight presided over Yale College during one of the most critical periods of its history. When he entered upon his administration the college was in a deplorable condition from every standpoint. Blatant infidelity prevailed among the students, but this was by no means peculiar to Yale, for

throughout the country generally youth had shaken off what they considered "the shackles of superstition." To meet this situation was one of the first things undertaken by the new president. Instead of trying to restrict the topics which the seniors were to discuss in their forensic exercises President Dwight invited them to name whatever subjects they desired, and they were surprised when such a question was accepted as "Are the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament the Word of God?" They were asked to defend whichever side they pleased. When most of them chose the negative side and presented their arguments the President undertook to answer them. This was characteristic of his method. His sermons in the college chapel were also upon subjects vitally interesting to the students, and Lyman Beecher, then a student in the college, is authority for the statement that at the end of six months "infidelity skulked and hung its head."

Before coming to Yale, Dwight was known as one of the foremost advocates of the new divinity, and by those who represented the old Calvinism his coming to the presidency was viewed with alarm. Though differing somewhat among themselves, the leaders of the new divinity agreed on a general atonement and laid emphasis upon human responsibility and the necessity of religious experience. Dwight's theological views were well known, for as has been noted he had preached through his system of theology twice in his Greenfield pulpit. These sermons were now revised and presented to his students. By delivering one lecture each Sabbath morning during the school year, he was able to complete the lectures every fourth year. Thus every student who remained the four years heard the entire series. As a theologian he was neither the most profound nor the

most original of the New England school "but his varied learning, his sound judgment, his excellent taste, his healthful moral nature, and his wide experience of life, placed him in a position to make what is on the whole the most complete and best exhibition of the New England theology." The lectures when published made a large appeal and were more widely read on both sides of the Atlantic than the writings of any other American theologian during the first third of the nineteenth century.

Dwight was an extreme conservative in politics and judged by our standards today his theological views were hopelessly narrow. Connecticut was the stronghold of both Federalism and theological orthodoxy, and Dwight was the great defender of the Connecticut *status quo*. His attacks on infidelity, such as his anonymously published poem *The Triumph of Infidelity* (1788), are filled with extravagant abuse. But his two discourses on *The Nature and Danger of Infidel Philosophy* delivered before the seniors of Yale College in 1797 and his *Duties of Americans at the Present Crisis* (1798), together with his theological lectures and sermons, though they may not be great literary productions, were effective in turning the thought and interest of American youth in a new direction.

It seems to be generally accepted among literary critics of recent times that Timothy Dwight was overestimated by his contemporaries. But he undoubtedly put a stamp upon his age, and it is from his administration that Yale dates her modern era. Beginning in 1801 a quiet revival of religious interest began at Yale College which soon spread to every college in the land, and as a result for more than two generations the colleges springing up in the newer sections of the country took Yale as their model. And more than

that, Yale College throughout the first half of the last century poured a stream of her devoted young graduates into the leadership of every good cause; into the pulpits of New England; into frontier education; into home missions and into the foreign field. According to present-day judgments Timothy Dwight may not be accorded real greatness, but it would be difficult to find another in his time who accomplished more for the best interests of the youthful nation and for the nation's youth.

THE BEECHERS

Theodore Parker once made the statement that Lyman Beecher was "the father of more brains than any other man in America." It was Leonard Bacon who was responsible for the statement that "this country is inhabited by saints, sinners, and Beechers." For no Beecher was ever pious or conventional enough to qualify as a saint, yet none of them can quite rate as sinners, since they were always pursuing Sin with a sharp stick; hence the necessity of classifying them in a separate category.

Lyman Beecher was the husband of three wives and the father of thirteen children. Two of the children died in infancy and of the remaining eleven, all of the seven sons became ministers, and of the four daughters Mary Foote Beecher was the only one who never wrote a book or distinguished herself in a public career. In the *Dictionary of American Biography* there are biographies of Lyman Beecher and seven of his children, three daughters and four sons, a record unequaled by that of any other American family.

Catherine, the eldest daughter, was, with Emma Willard and Mary Lyon, a leader in obtaining more and better edu-

cation for women. She was the author of eighteen books, most of them pioneer works in the field of education; her books on domestic science were pioneers in that field and were influential in placing that subject in the school curriculums. When her fiancé, Professor Alexander M. Fisher of Yale College, was drowned at sea in 1823 she determined to "find happiness in living to do good." Her principal work was that of conducting schools for girls, the first in Hartford, Connecticut. In Cincinnati she founded "the Western Female Institute," later founding female colleges in Iowa, Illinois, and Wisconsin. At the same time she was a determined opponent of woman's suffrage, a cause to which her sister Isabella Beecher Hooker devoted her life; and aside from Susan B. Anthony did more than any other woman to give equal rights to American women.

Harriet Beecher Stowe, the most famous of Lyman Beecher's daughters, through her two most noteworthy novels, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and *Dred; A Tale of the Dismal Swamp*, contributed more than any other woman to the emancipation of the slaves. When during the course of the Civil War Harriet Beecher Stowe visited Washington she was introduced to President Lincoln by Congressman Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, later vice-president of the United States. As President Lincoln extended his hand to her in welcome he said, "So this is the little woman who wrote the book that made this big war."

Of the seven sons William Henry Beecher, the eldest, was the only one who could be called a failure, and yet he possessed many of the Beecher traits—courage, honesty, humor, and an insatiable missionary zeal. Edward Beecher the scholar, with a little band of Yale graduates known as the "Yale Band," came out to Illinois in 1832; he had re-

signed an important pulpit in Boston—Park Street—to become the president of the fledgling, one-building college at Jacksonville. He was a typical Beecher in that he could not resist any opportunity for pioneering. Here for more than ten years he not only helped lay the foundations for higher education in Illinois, but he also became one of the leaders in the anti-slavery movement in the middle west.

George Beecher, the third son, and one of the most gifted of the Beecher children, met a tragic death by accidental shooting just as he was beginning his ministry at Rochester, New York. Henry Ward Beecher was the most famous of all the sons and perhaps the greatest American preacher of the nineteenth century. With many of his father's traits—unconventionality, a liking for people, fondness for the outdoors; more or less a law unto himself, theologically and otherwise, with a zest for action, undergirded with a sincere moral and religious earnestness—he achieved distinction in many fields. As Lyman Beecher's son he could not help being a reformer. As an editor he wrote some of the "strongest editorials in the American press" of the time, as a preacher he spoke regularly from his pulpit in Brooklyn to twenty-five hundred people, and through his published sermons he was the most widely read man in the entire nation.

The three younger sons, Charles, Thomas K., and James, all early rebelled against entering the ministry and yet eventually all did so. Thomas had an aptitude for science; James, the last of the thirteen children, tried the sea and became an officer of a Chinese clipper ship; Charles was a musician. James is reported to have said just after landing from a voyage to China, "Oh, I shall be a minister. That's my fate. Father will pray me into it!"

None of the Beechers was more unusual or unconventional than Thomas K. He was called to the pulpit of the First Congregational Church of Elmira, New York, in 1854, and there he remained until his death in 1900. He refused to be installed as the pastor of the church and simply stayed on, on a month to month basis. He did nothing in the conventional manner and won the dislike of the other Elmira ministers who expelled him from the Elmira Ministers' Union which he had been instrumental in forming. And after his expulsion he never missed a meeting. Like all the other Beechers he was more interested in people than in theology. In 1875 he built the first institutional church in the United States and was denounced widely for the innovation. But he lived to see this type of church spread through the land, and the denouncing ministers and their successors build similarly equipped churches.

In attempting to account for this most unusual and unconventional family which has played such a significant part in American life, it will be found necessary to begin by appraising the life and parental influence of Lyman Beecher and his first two wives, Roxanna Foote and Harriet Porter, the mothers of his children. "Seldom if ever has there been a more striking example of effective parental influence than that exercised by Lyman Beecher over his seven sons and four daughters." Every one of his exceptional traits were passed on to his children. He dominated them all, yet he never inhibited their initiative, suppressed their individuality or shackled their independence. But the main ideas he held and the causes he espoused, they in turn held and carried on.

Lyman Beecher's father was a Connecticut blacksmith as was his father before him, and Lyman Beecher's personal

appearance was more that of a blacksmith than a minister. He was born in New Haven, October 12, 1775, his mother dying at his birth, and was brought up by an easygoing uncle on a farm in Guilford, Connecticut. His equally indulgent aunt fed him too much pie which gave him dyspepsia for life, and he went to Yale College not primarily because he had a thirst for learning but because he was "deadly sick of plowing a hilly, swampy, fifteen acre corn field with a yoke of slow-moving oxen." He entered Yale in the last days of President Stiles' administration, but fortunately Timothy Dwight came in 1795 in time to exercise a profound influence on young Beecher. Lyman Beecher was enraptured with President Dwight and after his graduation he stayed on to study theology under him. "I loved him as my own soul, and he loved me as a son!" was Beecher's statement fifty years later.

In 1799 came two determining events in Lyman Beecher's life, his marriage to the lovely Roxanna Foote, a granddaughter of General Ward, one of Washington's generals, and his call to the Presbyterian Church at East Hampton, Long Island. East Hampton was a quiet sleepy village, a transplanted portion of New England. The first year a revival shook the entire town in which eighty were converted and fifty joined the church. Just a year after their marriage the Beechers' first child was born, and five more followed in rapid succession, one of them to be left in the churchyard. In the autumn Beecher took sick while on a visit to Connecticut and did not preach for nine months. Meanwhile it was getting increasingly difficult to make ends meet, with sickness, and new babies arriving, and only \$300 a year and firewood. Roxanna taught school and Beecher tried it also but to him it was perfect torture. After ten

years at East Hampton a call came from the Congregational church at Litchfield, Connecticut, then one of the most distinguished towns in the state, and the seat of the first law school in America. A published sermon of Beecher's had brought him to the attention of Judge Reeve and the call promptly followed. He had served the East Hampton church ten years and was to remain at Litchfield until 1826.

The Beecher household in an old rat-infested farmhouse at the edge of the town of Litchfield was a happy and lively one. And Beecher was always the life of the party. There was much reading in the family circle and a great deal of "liberty and sociality." Catherine, the eldest, looking back at that household through the mist of years, remembered it as a place of "sunshine, love, and busy activity, without any memory of a jar or a cloud."

Lyman Beecher was always attacking something and when he preached things were likely to happen. While at Litchfield he was stung to action by the alarming increase of drunkenness, not only in the town but among the ministers themselves at their consociations and other church gatherings; and after making careful preparation he preached six sermons on temperance on successive Sundays. As a result the American temperance movement was begun with Beecher at its head. Beecher says, "I was waked up for the war!" and members were expelled from the church for intemperance. While Beecher was at East Hampton, Aaron Burr had killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel and Lyman Beecher was aflame with indignation. He was then thirty years of age, but he determined that dueling must stop. After studying the subject for six months he preached against it, first in his own church and then before the Synod,

much to the amazement of the elderly D.D.'s. He introduced a resolution in the Synod providing for the formation of societies to stop dueling. This was opposed by the older members of the body, but the young and fiery Beecher "knocked away their arguments" . . . and "carried the vote of the house." This was the beginning of a series of efforts which eventually brought the matter to the floor of the Congress, and led to the passage of a law disfranchising any duelist.

Lyman Beecher was a firm believer in continuous revivals, and he struck at everything which he thought stood in their way. The denial by the Unitarians of the Deity of Christ and His objective atonement on the cross for the salvation of mankind made them his principal object of attack, especially during his Litchfield and Boston ministry. He believed also in the speedy second coming of Christ to the earth and that he was commissioned to help get the world ready for that triumphant return. This gave to his life and work a singleness of purpose and an urgency which explains to a large degree the effectiveness of his preaching.

The greatest sorrow in the life of Lyman Beecher came in 1816 with the death of his devoted wife, Roxanna Foote Beecher. The large Beecher family were in desperate financial straits following the War of 1812, because of high prices, the increasing number of children, and the loss of the little patrimony of Mrs. Beecher's which had been invested in her uncle's business in New York. An addition had been made to the house to make possible the taking of young lady boarders from Miss Pierce's School, in an effort to make ends meet. Now worn out by overwork and worry Roxanna slipped quietly away. Harriet Beecher commenting years later on the relationship of her father and mother

said, "Both intellectually and morally he regarded her as the better and stronger portion of himself." A year later he married Harriet Porter, a woman of beauty, wit, and high cultivation from one of the leading families of Portland, Maine. She bore him three sons and one daughter and died in 1835.

When Lyman Beecher was fifty-one years of age he was called to the Hanover Street Congregational Church in Boston, then just organized with 37 members. He came to the leadership of this new congregation for the express purpose of fighting the Unitarians and he was eager for the fray. At that time orthodoxy was the despised and persecuted faith in Boston. To use the words of Harriet Beecher Stowe, "it was the dethroned royal family wandering like a permitted mendicant in the city where it once had held court, and Unitarianism reigned in its stead." All the important people in the town were Unitarians, and "all the elite of wealth and fashion crowded the Unitarian churches." With his accustomed vigor Beecher entered upon his Boston pastorate and almost immediately a revival was under way which resulted in the addition of seventy members to his church. For six and a half years he led the orthodox forces of Boston and was generally considered by orthodox people of the country the "most popular and powerful preacher" in the nation. It was during this period of large Catholic immigration that he came to consider the Catholics especially dangerous to the welfare of the country. And in a series of intolerant sermons against the Catholics, he helped to arouse the furious Boston mob which disgracefully sacked and burned the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown.

Beecher, though a believer in revivals, was bitterly op-

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posed to what were known as "the new measures" of Charles G. Finney, but his opposition proved futile. In time Finney invaded Boston at the request of the orthodox ministers, and Beecher became more or less reconciled to him.

In 1830 Beecher's Boston church burned to the ground while the firemen sat idly by, refusing to make an effort to save it, while they sang:

While Beecher's church holds out to burn,
The vilest sinner may return.

Soon after this event he began to consider removal to Cincinnati where a theological seminary was being projected for the West. The first offer of the presidency by the trustees of Lane Theological Seminary was reluctantly declined, and Beecher stood by his Boston congregation until their new church was completed. In 1831 the offer was renewed, this time with the added pressure that Arthur Tappan, the New York philanthropist, had promised \$60,000 provided he would accept the presidency. Beecher succumbed and in the autumn of 1832 the Beecher family were comfortably housed at Walnut Hills, then a considerable distance outside Cincinnati where the Andover of the West was arising. He was now fifty-six and had left one of the strongest churches in orthodox Congregationalism to assume the headship of a little pioneer theological seminary in the West. The West now became his consuming interest. Soon came his famous *Plea for the West*; the nation's future he was now convinced depended upon the West and for the remainder of his active life he gave himself heart and soul to it.

The Cincinnati period of his career was a stormy one.

He was always facing new problems, but nothing could or did daunt his spirit. When he came to a tight place he would say, "Come, let us get by this pinch, and then we will get ready for the next." And the next was never very far behind.

First came the anti-slavery agitation among the students at Lane Seminary, which eventually led to the withdrawal of almost the whole student body. Lyman Beecher had, up to this time, given little attention to the slavery issue, but he soon took a typical Beecher position by declaring himself both a colonizationist and an abolitionist as well. The abolition movement in the Seminary was led by a remarkable personality, Theodore Dwight Weld, one of Finney's converts, who soon gained such ascendancy over the students as to "take the lead of the whole institution." A student rebellion was precipitated when the trustees, during Beecher's absence in the East, prohibited the students from discussing the slavery issue. When Beecher returned things had gone too far to mend and some fifty students withdrew to form the Theological department of Oberlin College. Such a happening in any ordinary man's career would have wrecked it beyond repair. But not so Lyman Beecher's. In fact he gave little sign of being even slightly perturbed by it. Later his brilliant daughter Harriet was to get most of the materials for her *Uncle Tom's Cabin* from this same Theodore Dwight Weld who had come so near to wrecking her father's Seminary.

Hard on the heels of the student rebellion came charges of heresy against Beecher lodged by Joshua L. Wilson, of the First Presbyterian Church in Cincinnati, the arbiter of Presbyterian orthodoxy in the West. Wilson had urged Beecher to accept the Lane presidency, but by the time the

Beechers arrived in Cincinnati he had become convinced that Beecher was unsound theologically. The charges of heresy followed, which Beecher fought through successfully. But he returned to a Seminary almost devoid of students, "unaware of frustration, never admitting defeat." Eventually Lane Seminary entered upon an era of moderate prosperity, and the name of Lyman Beecher resounded through the great valley as it had once resounded throughout New England. Like most famous orators Lyman Beecher was no philosopher, and the creed he preached was made up of a strange mixture of liberal and conservative views. He started out a professed Calvinist. But Nathaniel W. Taylor of Yale Divinity School was his best friend and Beecher was soon advocating the views of the New Haven theologians, laying particular emphasis upon human freedom and responsibility. As a result of his attempt to reconcile the older Calvinism with the New Haven theology he was accused of heresy, and his popularizing these views in the West was one of the important factors in dividing the Presbyterian church in 1837-1838 into Old School and New School bodies. Lyman Beecher's practical position was always in advance of his theology. As Henry Ward once said, he was not great because of his theology; he was great because of his religion. His heart and his common sense were truer guides than his theology.

Lyman Beecher and his children are chiefly important, not only for the leadership which they supplied to the numerous advance movements of their time, but also because they helped to build a bridge between the theologians of the past, who placed chief emphasis upon correct doctrine and left everything else to God's direct intervention, to the leaders of our day who place less emphasis upon correct

doctrine, and who do not depend upon God's direct intervention to bring about man's salvation.

When Lyman Beecher died in the midst of the turmoil of the Civil War (1863), Edward, Harriet, Catherine, Henry Ward, Isabella, Charles and Thomas were at the height of their usefulness, each in his or her own way carrying on in the Beecher fashion, giving little attention to theology and a future heaven, but fighting valiantly for a better world here and now.

A few months before her death, in 1907, Isabella Beecher said to her granddaughter, "Isabel, I can't stand all the suffering in the world!" Replied the granddaughter, "Well, grandmother, you have the satisfaction of knowing you have always done more than your share to relieve it."

"That's the point," replied the grandmother. "As long as I could help I could stand it, but now that I can no longer help, I can't stand it."

This statement of the last of Lyman Beecher's children, in regard to her attitude toward a suffering world, is typical of the attitude of all the Beechers. Every one of them looked upon himself or herself as having a very definite task to perform in this needy world, and they worked at it with consuming enthusiasm and extraordinary ability.

CHARLES G. FINNEY

Revivalism in America is intimately related both to education and reform. Particularly is this true of the first half of the nineteenth century, and no one figure in that period unites in himself all of these interests to a greater degree than does Charles G. Finney. He was without doubt the greatest revivalist of his time, and in the wake of his re-

vivals reform movements sprang up as native to the soil, while the latter part of his life was largely devoted to the work of education.

After the great revival with which the eighteenth century ended and the nineteenth century began, revivalism was accepted by all the evangelical churches, whether Calvinistic or Arminian in their doctrinal emphasis. The time itself was one of emotional release. "The Sentimental Years" is the name given the period from 1836 to 1860 by a present-day historian, but it is equally applicable to the period of the twenties. The condition under which a majority of the people of the country were living was still largely that of the frontier. It was the period in which the camp-meeting reached its greatest development, though it had come to be largely a Methodist institution. The Congregationalists and Presbyterians, while accepting revivalism as a necessary part of their technique, frowned upon an excess of emotionalism and considered Methodist and Baptist revivals orgies of emotional excess. It is an interesting fact, however, to bear in mind that the most outstanding revivalists of this revivalistic age were not Methodists or Baptists, as might be expected, but were either Congregationalists or Presbyterians or both. Thus Lyman Beecher was, during the course of his career, both a Congregationalist and a Presbyterian. Charles G. Finney began as a Presbyterian but after 1834 was identified with the Congregationalists. Asahel Nettleton (1783-1844), a graduate of Yale College, was a calm, conservative Congregational evangelist, bitterly opposed to sensationalism, and was responsible for the conversion of thousands. Like Lyman Beecher he objected strongly to the Finney type of revivalism,

“mobbing men to the mercy seat” as he termed the Finney methods.

Charles Grandison Finney did not come to the Presbyterian ministry in the conventional manner. He came immediately into his spectacular evangelistic activities from the practice of law, bringing into his preaching to an unusual degree the lawyer’s method of presenting his case in the court.

He was a New Englander by birth, a son of early New England stock. Warren, in Litchfield County, Connecticut, was his native place (August 29, 1792). His father, Sylvester Finney, was a revolutionary soldier, his mother was Rebecca Rice of Kent, and Charles Grandison was their seventh child. When Charles was two years of age, his parents, following the prevailing tide of migration westward, moved into the wilderness of central New York and until Charles was sixteen they lived in Oneida County. Here almost devoid of religious influence Finney grew up. His parents made no profession of religion and there were few religious people in the neighborhood. His first schooling was in primitive district schools taught by New England schoolmasters. In 1808 the family moved into a still more remote frontier on the shores of Lake Ontario near Sackett’s Harbor, where after some experience of teaching a district school young Finney returned to his native town in Connecticut to prepare for college. His instructor, though himself a graduate of Yale College, advised Finney not to go to college, saying that it was a waste of time, as he could cover the entire course in two years by private study. For two years then Finney taught school in New Jersey, at the same time pursuing his studies. In 1818, having decided to take up the practice of law, he entered

the law office of Squire Benjamin Wright of Adams, New York, and in due time was admitted to the bar.

When Charles G. Finney began the practice of law in the village of Adams, New York, he was a tall, handsome young man of twenty-seven, a good musician, a fine dancer, with a pleasing personality—and as might be expected extremely popular at social gatherings. The minister in the Presbyterian church of the town was a young Princeton graduate about Finney's age, George W. Gale, who later was to become one of the founders of Knox College at Galesburg, Illinois. Finney because of his love of music rather than because of any particular interest in the church or religion, became the leader of the choir, and so sat regularly under the preaching of Gale, who was an old school Calvinist in his theology. Gale fell into the habit of dropping in at the Finney law office, and a frequent topic of conversation was the sermon of the Sunday before: discussions in which Finney always took the view opposite from the minister's. As time went on Finney began to attend the prayer meetings, chiefly because of the singing, where he was struck by the fact that though prayers were continually offered for a revival and for the Holy Spirit to descend upon them, nothing ever happened. It was in this period also that Finney purchased the first copy of the Bible he had ever owned, his purpose being to look up passages in the Mosaic Code, to which frequent references were made in his law books. Such were the influences responsible for turning Charles G. Finney's attention to his own religious needs.

Finney's own account of his conversion in his *Memoirs* reminds one strongly of the experience of St. Paul. Each

resulted in an "inward change of the character" and in the "complete transformation of outward conduct."

On a Sabbath morning in October, 1821, Finney resolved that he would settle the question of his soul's salvation at once. On Monday morning as he was on his way to his law office the question came to his mind, "Will you accept it [salvation], now, today?" To this he answered, "Yes; I will accept it today, or I will die in the attempt." And turning his steps from his office he directed them toward a "piece of wood" north of the village and there, after hours of agonized prayer, a quietness came over him and a strange tranquillity took complete possession of his spirit. That night while alone in his law office there came another period of mental and spiritual agony, in which he seemed to meet the Lord Jesus Christ face to face. This was the culminating experience, and from this time on a single purpose dominated his mind. He was determined to preach and that at once. Tuesday he spent urging the acceptance of Christ upon all whom he met, and that evening without appointment people gathered at the church, for rumors of Finney's conversion had spread through the village. Here Finney told of his conversion, and for weeks following daily meetings were held, while Finney devoted himself to frequent prayer and to the conversion of the young people of the town. On Wednesday he quit his law practice, and to use his own expression, "accepted a retainer from the Lord Jesus to plead his cause." Such was the dramatic beginning of Charles G. Finney's ministry.

On June 25, 1823, Finney placed himself under the care of the St. Lawrence Presbytery in preparation for the Presbyterian ministry. When it was suggested that he enter Princeton Theological Seminary he declined, explain-

ing that he did not want to place himself under such influences as they had been subjected to in their education. Instead of being angered by this display of independence the Presbytery appointed two of their number to superintend his studies, one of them being George W. Gale. Finney possessed an exceedingly logical and independent mind and his relationship to his instructors was a strange one. He demanded proof for the doctrines they wished him to accept and when they failed to produce it he rejected the doctrines. Such was the case concerning their doctrine of the atonement. Later he rejected more and more of the old Calvinism and took a definite New School position.

His formal ministry began in two neighboring towns in Jefferson County, New York, Evans Mills and Antwerp. They were typical frontier communities, Evans Mills particularly containing a large and violent irreligious element, while a locality near Antwerp was called "Sodom" because of its resemblance to the Sodom of old. From the very start Finney's urgent and vivid preaching created a sensation and within a relatively short time a revival was in progress in many places throughout the region. Wherever he went he was urged to preach. So in late autumn of 1824 on his way to Oneida County to fetch his wife (he had been married in October), he stopped at a blacksmith's shop to have his horse shod; people heard of his presence; a crowd gathered. He was urged to preach at the school-house that afternoon; he did so; they pleaded with him to preach again at night; again he consented, and so on day after day the work continued. Finally he engaged another person to go after his wife, while he continued his preaching. It was not indifference of feeling which made him consent to this long separation from his bride of but a few

weeks, but rather the intensity of his devotion to what he thought was his duty to the cause of Christ.

These revivals in northern New York had attracted merely local attention, but in October of 1825 as he was on his way home from a meeting of the Synod at Utica he was persuaded to stop at Western, a little town near Rome, to pay a visit to his former pastor, George W. Gale, who, because of ill health, was now living on a farm in the vicinity. Finney was urged to remain and preach, and a revival at once began which soon spread to Rome and thence to Utica, and with these towns as centers, throughout the county. In places a considerable distance away, where Finney had never preached, conversions occurred on the mere hearing of the progress of the revival. The very presence of Finney in other instances brought conviction of sin: one day when he visited a factory, the operatives, as he entered, became agitated and burst into tears. Altogether the number of conversions in this region numbered more than three thousand.

As the Finney revival moved farther east, into the older sections of the state, opposition began to manifest itself. This opposition was aimed primarily against what came to be known as the "new measures": these included the custom of praying for people by name, especially in meetings appointed for inquirers; of permitting women to pray in the presence of men and in public; and of using what his opposers considered undignified means of advertising his meetings. Open opposition developed when he was asked to conduct a meeting at Auburn, the seat of the newly founded Theological Seminary. His antagonists were some of the members of the theological faculty and some influential lay members of the Presbyterian church of the town.

But the meeting was held. (A few years later the very men who had opposed his first coming requested his return.) He next moved on to Troy.

Meanwhile the alarm of certain prominent Congregational and Presbyterian ministers, especially in New England, began to be expressed in definite plans to check the Finney movement. After considerable correspondence among themselves, it was determined to call a meeting representing both the friends and foes of the Finney methods, and there to try to come to some agreement as to how revivals should be conducted. The convention met at New Lebanon near Albany in July, 1827. After several days' interchange of views distrust of Finney was largely allayed and from this time on opposition to him declined. Later Lyman Beecher, who with Asahel Nettleton had been among his most decided opponents, headed a committee which requested Finney to come to Boston for a series of meetings, and among his stanch supporters were Catherine and Edward Beecher.

For the next eight years (1827-1835), the demands for Finney's services as a revivalist came from many places. Wilmington, Delaware, Philadelphia, Reading and Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and finally New York City were the scenes of successful revivals. In New York Finney came into contact with the philanthropists Anson G. Phelps and the Tappans, Arthur and Lewis, all of whom gave his revivals their firm moral and liberal financial support; and here he preached for a year to crowded audiences in a church purchased for the purpose by Mr. Phelps. In 1831 he held his first great meeting in Rochester, then a town of ten thousand. Here it was that he for the first time introduced the "Anxious Bench," which soon aroused a

tremendous furor. Later (1842 and 1856) Finney returned to Rochester for other great meetings, when the city was stirred from center to circumference.

In August, 1831, he invaded Boston, and in the fall of 1832 was back again in New York. This time Lewis Tappan leased the Chatham Street Theatre for the meetings. Unfortunately Finney was taken with the cholera, then raging in the city, and his work was interrupted, but he gained such a hold in New York that he was persuaded to accept the pastorate of a new church, Broadway Tabernacle, which was erected for him. On accepting the pastorate of this church he left his Presbyterian affiliations and became a Congregationalist, because he favored the Congregational discipline. A six months' sea voyage to Malta and Sicily to regain his health was necessary before beginning his ministry at the Tabernacle, but during the winter of 1834-1835 his preaching resulted in a continuous revival.

In the summer of 1835 Finney entered upon an entirely new phase of his career, when he accepted, under the urging of Arthur Tappan and Theodore Dwight Weld, the professorship of theology at the new college arising at Oberlin, Ohio. The Lane revolt, already noted in connection with Lyman Beecher, had brought to Oberlin a group of extremely earnest young men who were studying for the ministry. Many of them were Finney's own converts, especially those from central and western New York. The coming of the Lane rebels to Oberlin made slavery a prominent issue at the new college, though Finney himself was never an anti-slavery agitator. His references to slavery though frequent were always casual. He came to Oberlin however as an advocate of admitting colored students

to the college, and Oberlin became the first American college to admit colored students on an equality with whites. The early graduates of Oberlin were, under Weld's influence, intense in their anti-slavery zeal and went forth to spread the anti-slavery gospel. Using the Finney revival methods and presenting the anti-slavery cause as identical with religion they were successful in bringing the agitation back into the churches, where it became increasingly effective.

Finney, after his removal to Oberlin, continued through a part of each year his revivalistic activities, at first devoting six months of each year to the Broadway Tabernacle in New York. For many years he acted also as the minister of the Congregational Church at Oberlin, where he dominated the whole life of the community. For years there was no lawyer in the place and all questions involving legal adjustment were settled by Finney. Twice he conducted revival campaigns in England (1849-1850; 1859-1860), and he was in constant demand throughout the country. During his New York residence he had established the *New York Evangelist* to promote the cause of revivalism and on coming to Oberlin he started the *Oberlin Evangelist* for the same purpose.

Though from 1835 to the end of his active life Finney taught theology at Oberlin, and developed a well-organized system, he remained nevertheless pre-eminently a preacher. Theologically he belonged to the New School Calvinists of the radical wing. In his early ministry he had been influenced by Jonathan Edwards' writings on *The Religious Affection* and on *Revivals*, and following Nathaniel W. Taylor of Yale he made the freedom of the will an important emphasis. His presentation of the governmental

theory of the atonement in his preaching was especially effective. There is much contemporary testimony to the overwhelming effect on his hearers of his sermon "One Mediator between God and men; the man Jesus Christ."

After his coming to Oberlin he began to emphasize the doctrine of sanctification. By sanctification he meant simply a permanent state of consecration, the attainment of which he thought possible for every Christian. His position, which came to be known as the Oberlin Theology, was much misunderstood and aroused widespread opposition, though it also won wide acceptance. From 1851 to 1866 he served as president of Oberlin College and owing largely to his wide reputation, student attendance came to exceed a thousand, and to be more cosmopolitan than that of any other college in America. David Livingstone, for instance, sent his younger brother from Scotland to Oberlin, where he was graduated in 1845.

Though himself taking the lead in no outstanding reform, Finney's converts were to be found in the forefront of every reform movement of the time. Wherever Finney went he left behind him scores of young men "emancipated from sin and Calvinism and overflowing with benevolence for unsaved mankind." The gospel he preached encouraged men "to work as well as believe," and as a result there was "a mighty influence toward reform." The significance of Charles G. Finney lies not only in the fact that he was instrumental in adding tens of thousands to the active ranks of the churches, but in the additional circumstance that these new converts became active participants in every forward movement.

DWIGHT LYMAN MOODY

The greatest influence for religion in America during the last third of the nineteenth century was that exercised by Dwight L. Moody. Without collegiate, theological, or even high-school education; without a church or society to support him; "without any of the recognized graces of oratory; . . . without any ambition to form a new ecclesiastical organization" (as did William Booth and others who led contemporary religious movement); with neither the ability nor the desire to form a new school of theological thought; Dwight L. Moody nevertheless probably spoke to more auditors in Great Britain and America, with the possible exception of John B. Gough, than any other man of his time. And Gamaliel Bradford's statement is no exaggeration, "that in his day none worked more passionately, more lovingly, and more successfully to bring God to man, and man to God."

The Moodys came to the region of Northfield, Massachusetts, when it was the northerly outpost of civilization in New England. The Holtons also were early settlers in the region, and on January 3, 1828, the two families were joined when Edwin Moody and Betsey Holton were married. Edwin was socially inclined to a fault and improvident, and when he died at the age of forty-one he left his wife with the care of seven children, the birth of twins within a month bringing the number to nine. With a heavily mortgaged and impoverished farm, and with "all available chattels seized by creditors" Betsey Holton Moody set herself resolutely to the task of keeping her large family together. And she succeeded. But she did far more than that. "My mother," said Dwight L. Moody, her fifth

child (born February 5, 1837)—he was speaking at her funeral in 1895—"was a very wise woman. In one sense she was wiser than Solomon; she knew how to raise her children. . . . She won their hearts and their affections; she could do anything with them." For a year after her husband's death she wept herself to sleep every night, but she was always cheerful in the presence of her children. "Her sorrows drove her to the Lord" . . . "If she loved one child more than another no one ever found it out" . . . "She never complained of her children." And the Widow Moody saw to it that her children were regular in their attendance at all the services of the village church; discipline was enforced in the old-fashioned way—there was no sparing of the rod. A strict disciplinarian stressing the simple virtues, a constant example of self-denial, with her wisdom and tender-heartedness she built her life into that of every one of her children, to their lasting good.

It was in the Unitarian Church at Northfield that all the Moody children were baptized, and Moody never felt it necessary to repudiate the baptism of that kindly Unitarian pastor, who visited the widow and her fatherless children and gave them both material and spiritual comfort. The Widow Moody brought up her children to work. Indeed, it was a necessity to do so, and one of Dwight's first jobs was to drive a neighbor's cows to pasture, a chore for which he received a penny a week. Under the circumstances the Moody children's educational advantages were meager in the extreme and Dwight's systematic schooling came to an end when he was thirteen years of age.

At seventeen the immature and inexperienced young Moody won the reluctant consent of his mother to go to Boston to find work. Already he had a reputation in his

native village for capacity and industry, and he left home with an exaggerated notion of his abilities. But his self-confidence was soon to receive a severe jolt after several days of fruitless effort to find work in the New England metropolis. Finally he sought and secured a position as a shoe clerk in a small retail shoe business conducted by his mother's brothers. Moody seems to have been born with a knack for business and his early ambition was to amass a fortune of at least a hundred thousand dollars. But the work in his uncles' store, for some reason, was not pleasant and after two years, without consulting anyone, he determined to go to Chicago, the new "wonder city" rising in the West.

One of the conditions on which his uncles offered him a place in their Boston store was that he should attend the Mt. Vernon Church and Sunday School. Here under the influence of his Bible class teacher, Edward Kimball, young Moody decided, in a matter-of-fact way, to become a Christian. His conversion, if it can be so called, was accompanied with no wrestling of the spirit, but was simply a natural acceptance of the claims of Christ. Though by no means climactic, his conversion was the turning point in his life.

The artless way in which religion and business are mingled in his early letters home is amusing. He is full of shrewd money-making plans, but each letter expresses concern about religious matters, though stated in stilted and foreign-sounding phrases. Evidently at this time his religion and business were kept in separate compartments.

Soon after Moody's arrival in Chicago, a revival of religion began and there were special services in many churches. He at once joined the Plymouth Congregational

Church. Previously, in attempting to speak in religious meetings he had found himself embarrassed and confused and had come to the conclusion that his religious zeal must find another method of expression. If he could not speak on religious topics he could bring listeners to hear those who could, and he set about to fill his pew at the Sunday services with hearers recruited from the boarding houses and street corners. Soon it was necessary to rent four pews to accommodate those whom he brought in. He next sought an opportunity to teach a class in a mission Sunday School, but was told that no classes were available, that if he wanted to teach a class he must provide himself with one. This was no sooner suggested than done and within two years that class had grown into a complete Sunday School, which held its meetings in a dingy rented room over a market. Soon the scholars, largely "gamins" from the streets, crowded the hall to the doors. Moody secured teachers who developed a personal interest in their scholars, and John V. Farwell, a leading Christian merchant, was persuaded to become the superintendent. The scholars, bubbling over with mischief and surplus energy, were hard to control, but singing was found to be an effective outlet for their exuberant spirits, and such singing had seldom been heard before. Moody knew every boy and girl by name, and through personal visitation became acquainted with their drab homes, and their personal problems.

Within two years after its organization his Sunday School had developed into an institution, with a program of evangelistic services, prayer meetings, welfare work and visitation. And though he secured the assistance of many helpers, the burden of its management and financing was entirely upon Moody's shoulders.

Meanwhile Moody was busy throughout the week carrying on his business. In coming to Chicago, he had secured a position as a shoe clerk, but was soon traveling throughout the region in the employ of a large wholesale shoe-house. He always managed however to be back in the city by Saturday night, and up early Sunday morning to make the hall ready for the Sunday School. As the religious work developed he began to feel a pull in two directions. Especially was this true after he began to speak. At first he had invited city ministers to speak at his meetings, but those to whom he had been a friend and counselor urged him to address them himself, saying that his own message would be a greater help to them. Finally he yielded, and the joy of bringing men to God fairly intoxicated him and a fire was kindled in his soul that could not be quenched. To be a successful merchant had been his original ambition and few men had greater business capabilities. Already at twenty-four, by savings and shrewd investments, he had acquired a capital of \$7,000, while his yearly income was at least \$5,000. In later years he said, "The hardest struggle I ever had in my life was when I gave up business." To make the decision more difficult, he had become engaged to Emma C. Revell, and to ask her to share the risk of giving up an assured income was a severe challenge to his faith. But the decision was made and he resigned from his business connections to become "a nondescript, independent city missionary in connection with his Sunday School in the old North Market Hall."

The years of the Civil War were momentous ones in the life of Dwight L. Moody. He was married on August 28, 1862; and besides carrying on the work of his mission, he became increasingly active in the work of the Young Men's

Christian Association, then just being established in Chicago. Though zealous in the cause of the Union and a vigorous supporter of President Lincoln, he felt that he could not morally take up arms. But throughout the War he was active in carrying on work among the soldiers in their camps, through the agency of the Christian Commission; and with the help of others he formed an Army and Navy committee of the Y.M.C.A.

By the close of the War Moody had become a well-known figure in Chicago. His mission had now grown into an independent Church and Sunday School, but he increasingly devoted himself to the work of the Young Men's Christian Association. In 1866, he became the President of the Chicago Association and under his presidency the first Y.M.C.A. building in the country was erected. He had been reluctant to form an independent Church and had advised his converts at the mission to join neighboring churches. But the desire of his recruits to retain the fellowship of their friends in the mission finally caused him to consent to their wish. The creed of the union church was stated in the words of Scripture, while as to baptism he had become convinced through his war experience "that Christ had not ordained a ceremony of baptism which could not be administered under any and all conditions." Thus his church was completely non-sectarian and he its unordained pastor.

As Moody's work grew he became increasingly conscious of his own shortcomings, especially in the matter of education. To get in touch with other Christian leaders and to learn their methods he made two preliminary visits to England, the first in 1867, a second in 1870. While in England, he met Harry Moorehouse of Birmingham, who followed

Moody to America. Up to that time Moody had emphasized God's wrath, after his contact with Moorehouse his emphasis was upon God's love. Thus the "wooing note" was supplied which had formerly been largely lacking in his preaching.

The great Chicago fire destroyed every tangible evidence of Moody's work. Hastening east he appealed to some of his old friends of the Christian Commission days, and soon there was erected a temporary building which became the center for an extensive relief work which he carried on throughout the winter (1871-1872). During these months Moody slept in the tabernacle with his corps of workers, and years afterward he used to relate how on retiring they were always careful to place their shoes over the knot holes to protect the sleepers from the chilling breezes from Lake Michigan.

While on his first visits to England, he had received several invitations to return to conduct missions. In response to these invitations he and Mrs. Moody, together with Ira D. Sankey, who had recently joined Moody as chorister in his Church and Sunday School, set sail for Liverpool, on June 7, 1873. On arriving in England, Moody learned that the three men who had promised to guarantee the expenses of the trip had all died. Thus no arrangements had been made for his work and he found himself a stranger in a strange land. Having previously received a letter from the Y.M.C.A. secretary at York, expressing the hope that he would visit that city, Moody took advantage of this possible opening and offered his services. There he began his work in the British Isles which was to continue for more than two years, and was to exert an influence on the religious life of Great Britain, comparable to that of the

evangelical awakening of the eighteenth century. After conducting missions in several northern cities he moved into Scotland, beginning at Edinburgh. He won the confidence of the leaders of both the Free Church and the Establishment, because he permitted no hysteria and because of his loyalty to the Bible. It was at this time that he had his first contact with Henry Drummond, who was then engaged in his theological studies. From Edinburgh he moved on to Glasgow, where for three months great meetings were held. Then for several months he worked in smaller cities throughout Scotland. Thence he crossed to Ireland. At Belfast, from ten to twenty thousand people attended one outdoor meeting. Dublin was no less cordial to him and his message. He made it a policy never to attack Roman Catholicism and as a consequence of his fairness priests and many of the Roman Catholic faith attended his meetings. Returning to England he held missions in Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham and Liverpool. In Birmingham, he had the co-operation of R. W. Dale, as he had had the support of the Presbyterian leaders in Scotland. In Liverpool, the ministers of the Anglican Church enlisted. The campaign in the British Isles was closed with a mission in London, where in five different sections of the city great meetings were held daily, attended by more than 2,500,000 people.

From 1881 to 1884, a second campaign was conducted by Moody and Sankey in the British Isles. Beginning in Ireland, they crossed over to Scotland, then invaded Wales, and again brought their stay to a close by an eight months' mission in London. Invited to speak by a group of undergraduates at Cambridge, he was greeted with jeers and confusion, but at the final meeting there were eighteen hun-

dred students present, and in perfect stillness they listened to his simple message on "The Gospel of Christ." He had a similar reception at Oxford. Among other notable men, Canon Lidden, brilliant preacher and high churchman, attended his Oxford meetings, and later from his University pulpit at Oxford, spoke in praise and deep appreciation of the work of the two simple, uneducated American preachers. Ten years later Moody was again in the British Isles, though this time for a much shorter period.

When Moody and Sankey left America in 1873 for their first evangelistic campaign in the British Isles, they were relatively unknown in America; when they returned two and one-half years later their coupled names had become household words on both sides of the Atlantic. On Moody's return to America in 1875, he went immediately to Northfield, his native village, and from that time on to the end of his life it became his permanent home. Moody had now found his life work and out from that New England village, nestling in the Berkshire hills, the gracious influence of this great-hearted, simple Christian man was radiated into every nook and corner of the land.

When Moody landed in New York in 1875 after his first great evangelistic campaign, he was thirty-eight years of age, a solid, stout figure of a man, weighing more than two hundred pounds, five feet seven inches in height, with full black beard and thick luxuriant hair. His capacity for physical endurance was almost past belief, and after two and a half years of continuous speaking in Great Britain, he was ready to begin his extraordinary American career. His first large campaign in America was conducted in Brooklyn, beginning in October, 1875. A great rink was engaged and seated with five thousand chairs and from fif-

teen to twenty thousand persons per day heard his message. In November (1875) he went to Philadelphia where a disused freight station was secured which had a seating capacity of ten thousand, and here for another month tremendous crowds attended day and night. Then came New York, Chicago, Boston, St. Louis, San Francisco, and then smaller cities and towns in every part of the land, north and south, east and west, became the centers from which radiated the Moody and Sankey influence. When the final sickness overtook him resulting in his death on December 22, 1899, he was engaged in an evangelistic campaign in Kansas City, speaking in a great hall with a capacity larger than that of any in which he had previously been heard.

As Moody traveled up and down the country, coming into close personal contact with young people of all degrees, he became increasingly concerned because of the lack of educational facilities for young people of limited means. It was this concern which led him to establish at Northfield a school for girls in 1879, and two years later, a few miles away, the Mount Hermon School for boys, where the cost per student was not to be more than one hundred dollars per year. With no private fortune to establish his schools, Moody depended upon his friends. He did not seek to build an endowment, but raised the budget to maintain them year by year. Later in his life he said of them: "They are the best pieces of work I have ever done." By this he did not mean to undervalue his evangelistic work, rather his thought was that through the schools thousands of men and women would be prepared for Christian service throughout the world.

From the founding of Northfield Seminary also date the conferences for Christian workers, the first being held in

the Seminary buildings in 1880. At that conference about three hundred were in attendance; the last conference he was to conduct, in August, 1899, was the largest gathering ever held in Northfield. In 1886 the first student conference was held at Mount Hermon School, and there the student volunteer movement was launched.

Though Moody remained conservative in his theology throughout his life, and believed in the second coming of Christ, he was always tolerant toward interpretations of the Bible not his own. He advocated no theological vagaries; he rode no hobbies. He worked with such scholars as George Adam Smith, whom he invited to the Northfield conferences, and with Henry Drummond whose position in many respects differed widely from his own. Though a literalist he was never a bigot. When some of the students at the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago began to agitate faith healing and to dispense with medical advice, Moody boldly stated, "If any teach that in sickness doctors are not to be summoned, out they go." When urged to form a separate religious organization of his converts and followers, he scorned the suggestion, and increasingly he was anxious and willing to work with and through the churches. Perhaps no better characterization of him can be found than that he was a man of "consecrated common sense."

"Millions of dollars passed into Mr. Moody's hands, but they passed through; they did not stick to his fingers." The Moody and Sankey *Gospel Hymns* produced prodigious royalties, but both Moody and Sankey refused to take any of them. This decision was made during Moody's first campaign in Great Britain when reports were circulated that the meetings were carried on primarily for the purpose of selling the *Gospel Hymns*. In 1927 *Sacred*

Songs and Solos, the book used in the later campaigns, had sold 70,000,000 copies and the royalties were turned over to the Northfield schools. Neither Moody nor Sankey had any fixed income; all they desired was that their families be beyond want.

How shall Dwight L. Moody be explained? Moody himself was often puzzled why people came in such crowds to hear his simple message. On his return from England in 1875 he said to a friend: "I am the most overestimated man in this country. By some means the people look upon me as a great man, but I am only a lay preacher, and have little learning." The great city newspapers, which carried full reports of all his meetings, invariably noted his lack of learning. One reported that there was never a moment when he was eloquent; that he cared not a whit for logic; that he murdered the English language; that he had never seen the inside of a geology, and yet, it confessed, there was not another man in America that could have filled the vast auditorium day after day. He held 48,000 men and women in the hollow of his hand and they wept or smiled as he willed.

Here is Moody, "rough, honest, sincere, flat, without frills, old-fashioned, consistently simple and grandly in earnest." Another reporter noted that "he practiced no arts; he only speaks right on." He preached the same sermons over and over again. But he never preached an old sermon without changing it and adding something to it or pruning old materials from it. He wasted no time in his speaking. "Words and sentences fell from his lips with rapidity and clearness." He never waxed high and mighty over his attainments, or because vast throngs attended him wherever he went. Though he had many

friends among the wealthy and was often entertained as a guest in their homes, these things meant nothing to him. One evening at a great meeting in London, a certain peer was introduced. "Glad to meet you, Lord," said Moody. "Just get two chairs for those old ladies, will you?" That was his spirit. "You might be an emperor, you might be a clown." In either case there was a soul to save, and beyond that it was all one to Moody. Gamaliel Bradford thought that his face had the soul-saver stamped all over it, and that he never could have felt at ease with him.

What was the secret of Moody's success, asks one of the reporters at his Boston meetings. And he answers, "The whole explanation of the mystery is probably found in one word—Earnestness." One high church lady in England was struck by his exquisite tenderness. Another suggests that his "unusual earnestness and simplicity keeps all hearers enchained. And the impression is left that there is some truth behind the man greater than he." But after all is said which can be said in explanation of Dwight L. Moody there is still much in his life and work which is beyond our explanation. In him the Divine spirit seems to have found a wonderfully effective human instrument through which Divine grace could be mediated to men.

CHAPTER VIII

LEADERS OF CHRISTIAN THOUGHT

WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING

Engraved on the monument of William Ellery Channing in the Boston Public Garden is the inscription **HE BREATHED INTO THEOLOGY A HUMANE SPIRIT**. And according to Professor Christie this well expresses the contribution he made.

The movement away from the stern Calvinism of the Puritan founders of New England was long in progress, its beginnings antedating the great colonial revivals by at least a half century. But the first open attacks upon New England orthodoxy in the eighteenth century were those made by Lemuel Briant of Braintree, and Charles Chauncy and Jonathan Mayhew of Boston, in their efforts to stem the tide of the revivalism of Whitefield, Davenport, and Edwards. Mayhew was the first New England minister to oppose openly the doctrine of the Trinity, but by 1780 we are told there was but one orthodox Calvinist preacher in Boston. In 1785 King's Chapel, the first Episcopal Church in Boston, under the leadership of its lay leader James Freeman struck out of the Prayer Book all references to the Trinity, and thus became the first openly Unitarian church in America. Meanwhile Universalism under the leadership of John Murray and Hosea Ballou was launching its attacks upon orthodoxy, winning its chief support from the rural and small town churches, while Uni-

tarianism was largely a Boston movement. Thus when William Ellery Channing came upon the theological scene as the minister of the Federal Street Church in Boston in 1803, he looked out upon Congregationalism already in the throes of controversy.

Born in Newport, Rhode Island, April 7, 1780, William Ellery Channing came of good stock on both sides of the family. His maternal grandfather, William Ellery, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, his father a lawyer with keen political interests, becoming attorney-general of the state in 1777. Thus young Channing breathed the independent atmosphere of his native state. As a boy he was blessed with glowing health and as a young man was remembered for his vigor and athletic grace, though in physique he was slight and delicately formed. We are told that he was not precocious, indeed his early schoolmasters thought him dull. His surroundings as a boy were such as to give his mind a religious bent, for both his father and mother were faithful members of the Second Congregational Church of Newport, the church from which Ezra Stiles had gone in 1778 to assume the presidency of Yale College. Dr. Stiles often returned to his old parish, as the church was some time without a minister and on one such visit he baptized young William Channing. At the First Church was Samuel Hopkins and the Hopkins parsonage was separated from the Channing house only by a garden. Later Channing was to acknowledge his great indebtedness to Hopkins, especially for his theory of "disinterested benevolence."

In his fifteenth year he entered Harvard College, but instead of living in the college yard he made his home for reasons of economy with the family of Chief Justice

Dana, an uncle by marriage. He thus missed the rough and tumble of dormitory life, which might have served to moderate that tendency to the life of a recluse, against which he waged a lifelong fight.

Graduating from Harvard at eighteen he almost immediately went to Richmond, Virginia, where he remained for a year and a half as a private tutor in the family of David Meade Reynolds. Of this period in Richmond he later wrote that it was "perhaps the most eventful of my life." Living largely alone, cut off from congenial companionship, he passed through an intellectual, moral, and spiritual conflict so severe as often to banish sleep and destroy digestion, and when he returned to his Rhode Island home, "I was worn," he says, "well nigh to a skeleton." In a letter to his uncle while in Richmond he writes, "I cannot find a friend with whom I can converse on religious subjects, I am obliged to confine my feelings to my own bosom." But although this experience wrecked his health, he looked back upon it later with thankfulness, for it was there that he achieved a complete intellectual victory over the abounding skepticism and infidelity about him, and gained an inner experience which he termed "liberty of heart—freedom from sin."

Returning to Newport he began "with impassioned eagerness" to prepare to enter the ministry. In a little garden house which he used as a study, "his evening lamp frequently vied with Dr. Hopkins' a few rods away as herald of the dawn." In 1802 he returned to Harvard College as a regent, a sort of disciplinary official, but the duties were perfunctory, and there was plenty of time for study, under the guidance of President Willard and Professor Tappan. Here his habit of introspection continued

as almost every page of his journal testifies. Soon he was preaching, as opportunity offered, to congregations round about. In December, 1802, a call was extended from Federal Street Church, and on June 1, 1803, he was installed as minister and here he remained until his death, nearly forty years later.

When Channing began his ministry nearly all the Congregational clergymen of Boston and vicinity were Unitarians, and he tells us that he himself was never in any sense a Trinitarian. Though drawn to the Hopkins notion of disinterested benevolence as we have seen, he was repelled by Hopkins' doctrine of predestination, but he was by no means in the early years of his ministry in the vanguard of the liberals. In fact his growth in liberal ideas was slow. There were few even among the Boston ministers of the period who might be called all-round heretics. One of Channing's biographers (Chadwick) tells us that as his health improved and as his domestic environment became more cheerful—he was happily married in 1814 to his cousin Ruth Gibbs—his theology became less and less Calvinistic. As a matter of fact it might be said that Channing's advance in liberal theology was typical of the general advance. Starting with anti-Trinitarian notions, he advanced to an anti-creed position; then he became out-and-out anti-Calvinistic, and finally reached the place where he rejected doctrines not exclusively Calvinistic, such as the vicarious atonement and eternal punishment. An important fact in the development of Channing's religious and theological thought was his "devout biblicism." He rejected the doctrine of the Trinity first of all because he did not find it in the Bible, and it has been pointed out that he

and his liberal friends were more biblical than their orthodox opponents.

A fact of utmost importance about Channing's liberalism was that "he arrived at liberal principles sooner than at Unitarian doctrines" and they always constituted his main emphasis. More than anything else this accounts for the widespread influence in religion which Channing exercises to this day. What he meant by liberal Christianity was not primarily an interpretation of a creed, "but a Christianity which is liberal, kindly, gentle, and considerate in its judgment of those who may differ."

Of all men whom we might expect to find in the forefront of controversy William Ellery Channing would be among the last. He did not love controversy or opposition. He was not a man of natural courage, "but one of delicate shrinking flesh, and corresponding mind." His sermons and addresses abound in praise of moral courage, and his life fully exemplified the trait he praised. But being courageous was no easy thing for him. It was the Duke of Wellington who said that men of natural courage did not make the best soldiers, "but those who, shrinking from the conflict, did not flinch because their sense of duty held them to their work." Such a soldier was Channing.

The open Unitarian controversy may be said to have begun in 1815. Up to that time the movement away from orthodoxy had been going on more or less under cover, while on the surface Congregationalism presented a united aspect. The break came as a result of a review in the newly established "Panoplist" by Jeremiah Everts, the editor, of a pamphlet on American Unitarianism, which had been originally published in England as the last chapter of a book dealing with the life of Theophilus Lindsey, the

founder of English Unitarianism. In his review Everts accused the American Unitarians of dishonesty and hypocritically concealing their opinions, and of teaching them secretly. Channing now thirty-five years of age was thoroughly aroused by this accusation and his answer took the form of an open letter to a friend—S. C. Thacher, the minister of the New South Church—with whom Channing had talked matters over. Avoidance he did not deny, but he justified it on the ground that it was best for “our people and for the cause of Christianity” to exclude controversy from the pulpit. To treat theological dogmas as negligible, and to emphasize the ethical and spiritual was the very essence of the liberal movement. This Channing emphasized, and deprecated the evident attempt to divide the church—by forcing the Unitarians to withdraw. “For myself,” he said, “the universe would not tempt me to bear a part in this work of dividing Christ’s church and of denouncing his followers.” Once having begun the task of setting forth and defending the Unitarian position, other articles came from his pen at frequent intervals—culminating in the Baltimore sermon preached at the ordination of Jared Sparks in 1819 as the minister over a Unitarian Society formed in that city. It is generally agreed that this was the strongest defense of Unitarianism ever made by Channing and it immediately made him the recognized leader of the liberal forces. The sermon was widely read, and it is said that no American publication exceeded it in circulation until 1830 when Webster’s reply to Hayne appeared.

The sermon was a presentation of the principles and doctrines of Unitarianism. Basing his position squarely on the Scripture, he stated that the Bible demands the exer-

cise of reason for its understanding. In his treatment of the doctrines of Unitarianism his first emphasis was upon the unity of God. The Trinity he rejects because it subverts the unity of God. Next he emphasizes his belief in the unity of Christ, stating that the doctrine of two wills, two minds, and two souls is sheer credulity, and that the inferiority of Jesus to God is clearly expressed in the New Testament. But strange to say he did not stress what came to be his "one sublime idea," "the dignity of human nature and the greatness of the human soul."

Though Channing on numerous occasions expressed little interest in Unitarianism as a sect, he was nevertheless to have much to do with the formation of the Unitarians into a separate denomination. In fact he is credited with giving the name Unitarian to himself and those in agreement with him. In 1820 he formed what came to be known as the Berry Street Conference, made up of liberal ministers meeting in the vestry of his church on Berry Street. This conference five years later (1825) evolved into the American Unitarian Association with Channing as its first president. To Channing, however, it was not a sect in the usual meaning of that term. In fact it was for him what President Kirkland called it, "the unsectarian sect," and instead of making him more sectarian, it made him less so.

Channing's interest in the social questions of his time grew largely out of his interest in political affairs. He had come from a family interested in public affairs, but his interest was in causes and principles rather than in personalities, and the causes he espoused were always those which grew out of his great central emphasis, the dignity of human nature. In an article on "The Union" in 1829 in

which he dealt with the issues of the time, among them the tariff controversy, he has this to say:

Tariffs will never be impartial. They will always, in a greater or less degree, be the result of selfish combinations of private and public men, through which a majority will be secured to particular interests. . . .

A six months' stay in St. Croix in 1830, where he had gone in search of health, made Channing a strong anti-slavery advocate, but he never became a Garrisonian abolitionist. Channing's habit of seeing both sides to any controversy was perhaps the reason. In fact he took much the same position on slavery that Lincoln came to occupy, and his writings helped to prepare the way for the work of the great emancipator. During the last years of his life slavery came to be more and more a burden upon his heart and mind, and among the most important writings of his latter years were his *Slavery*, 1835; *The Abolitionist*, 1836; *A Letter to Henry Clay, on the Annexation of Texas*, 1837; *Remarks on the Slavery Question*, 1839; *Emancipation*, a study of West Indian emancipation, 1840; *The Duty of Free States* on the case of the Creole, 1842; and the same year an address on the anniversary of emancipation in the British West Indies. This anti-slavery activity had alienated a good proportion of his "well-bred" parishioners, many of whom left his church and some passed him by on the street without a sign of recognition.

Early in his ministry Channing had put himself on record as opposing war. The Napoleonic wars were a horror to him, and we find him preaching anti-war sermons in 1812, 1814, 1816. But the closing of the European war did not stop his anti-war activity, for his greatest anti-war

sermon was preached in 1835, and in 1838 he prepared and delivered a noble lecture on war. The Massachusetts Peace Society was organized in his parsonage and its secretary, Noah Worcester, always had his profoundest admiration and hearty support. His opposition to war like his opposition to slavery was based on the principle of the infinite worth of human beings. He would have the soldier's uniform as unattractive as the hangman's, because his business is not more cruel. Speaking of the notion that the policy of government in wartime is considered sacrosanct, he urged that the patriot citizens refuse to uphold an unjust war, stating

If martial law seize on him, let him submit. If hurried to prison let him submit; if brought thence to be shot, let him submit. There must be martyrs to peace as well as to other principles of our religion.

Channing spoke telling words for temperance; he was interested in social and industrial reform. At one time he said, "I am a leveller; but I would accomplish my object by elevating the low." And he would do it with their help, not from above. It was in his study that Dorothy Dix who had been a teacher of Channing's children prepared her memorial on the condition of the insane. He advocated penal reform and abolition of capital punishment. He was among the earliest supporters of Horace Mann, and urged Harvard to provide education for the plain people. In respect to many things "to go back to him was to go forward." "I have no fear of radicalism," he said. "We have conservative principles enough." As he grew older, strange to say, he became more and more radical both in his thinking and action.

He had not great learning, but his influence upon American literature was powerful and direct. For it was he more than any other who was responsible for breathing into the writings of Longfellow, Bryant, Emerson, and Holmes a religious spirit.

A gentleman when told that Channing was slight of build could not believe it and said: "Dr. Channing small and weak! I thought him six feet at least, with fresh cheeks and broad chest, a voice like that of many waters and strong-limbed as a giant." And so he was in every sense except in body. Theodore Parker thought him "the greatest clergyman of his time, the greatest man of his time." For forty years his presence was a benediction to the city of Boston, and indeed to the nation. "His idealism was inexorable, his faith in the goodness of man was not to be gainsaid." He was more than a leader of good causes, he became a symbol of saintliness, of reform, of open-mindedness, of tolerance.

He died October 2, 1842, at Bennington, Vermont, while on a vacation tour of the Berkshire country after a long siege of typhoid fever. His body was brought east for burial and eventually found its last resting place at Mount Auburn, Cambridge, and all Boston did him honor, but few knew "what a great man was dead."

HORACE BUSHNELL

Horace Bushnell has been called the father of "the later constructive development of American theology." Williston Walker believed that the verdict of history would pronounce him "one of the greatest religious geniuses which Christianity has hitherto produced." This, in spite of the fact that Bushnell was not a learned theologian. He was

never an interpreter of other men's positions. He did not belong to the New England theological tradition. Although he was a New Englander by birth and his parents were Congregationalists, they were both out of sympathy with its theology. His mother had been reared in the Episcopal Church and his father had decided Arminian views obtained from his Methodist mother and both objected to the "tough predestinationism" and the "over total depravity" in the sermons. But they remained in the church and entered into its life in spite of its "intolerable doctrines." To understand Horace Bushnell it must be kept in mind that he was not reared in a Calvinistic home. In fact his most influential book, *Christian Nurture*, grew out of the religious training which he, together with his brothers and sisters, received under the parental roof. Here religion was not an "irksome restraint nor an unwelcome visitor, but a constant atmosphere, a commanding but genial presence."

Horace Bushnell was fortunate in having a wise woman for a mother. In his later life he spoke of her as the "only person I have known in the close intimacy of years who never did an inconsiderate, imprudent, or any way excessive thing that required to be afterwards mended." While concerned to have her children Christians she never caused them to feel conscious of being forced into it. Her reliance was upon what he later called "habit discipline."

Horace was the firstborn (April 14, 1802) in a family of six children and his birthplace was Bantam, Connecticut, though the family removed to a farm in New Preston, fourteen miles away, when he was three years of age. His father was Ensign Bushnell, a descendant of one of the founders of Guilford, Connecticut. He was industrious

and of a cheerful frame of mind, very much influenced by his unusual wife, whose maiden name was Dotha Bishop.

Bushnell did not enter Yale until he was twenty-one, "a full-grown and robust man." His early education, so delightfully described in *The Age of Homespun*, was obtained under the instruction of his mother who among other things taught him music, and in the local school and Academy. Nor must the part played by nature be overlooked. From his earliest boyhood he loved nature and "explored it for its meaning" and allowed it "to kindle his imagination." In his account of the life of his boyhood he speaks of the excursions "to the tops of the neighboring mountains; boatings on the river or the lake by moonlight." He was a "born engineer, always laying out roads and building parks, and finding the best paths for railroads among the hills." He knew every New England shrub and tree; of every stream he crossed he estimated the water-power; he noticed every well-laid stone wall, the gait of every horse he met on the road.

In college he lived much by himself, perhaps because he was older than the majority of his classmates, but he was no recluse and was fond of athletic sports. He was a hard-working student and, when he wished to be, a leader. The talent for leadership manifested itself in his organization of the Beethoven Society which he formed to lift the standard of music in the college chapel: evidence that his mother's instruction and the "evening schools of sacred music," of which he was so fond back home, were bearing fruit. Religiously, college left him in a skeptical frame of mind, though his home training stayed with him and "kept him a living soul." Out of college, his bills paid by teaching school and serving ten months on the editorial

staff of Arthur Tappan's *New York Journal of Commerce*, the question had to be decided whether he should begin preparation for the ministry, for that had been his mother's dream. But he says, "my religious life was utterly gone"; unbelief had come to be his "element." And so he began the study of law. Two years after his graduation, out of a clear sky came an appointment to a tutorship at his Alma Mater. As he was leaving the house to mail a letter declining the position he met his mother, under whose gentle remonstrance he was led to reconsider; and he was soon on his way back to New Haven where he began his tutorship in the autumn of 1829. Here he continued his law studies along with his teaching and made himself ready for admission to the bar.

On his return to Yale as tutor he found a better attitude toward religion than had prevailed during his student days, and soon there was to come for him a great experience.

In the winter of 1831 a quiet though all-pervading revival swept through the college. While the religious feeling was at its height Bushnell and his students, who fairly worshiped him, stood unmoved. The tutors had established a daily prayer meeting of their own and all but Bushnell attended. Of the tutors only one had the courage to approach Bushnell, and in any event there seemed to be nothing gained. Then all at once Bushnell made his own decision and that on the basis of the responsibility he felt for his students. Here, as Munger suggests, is the germ of his *Vicarious Sacrifice*. He saw that they were hanging back because of him and he determined to meet with them and tell them of the decision he and they ought to make together. This was done, and with overwhelming results. But in spite of this decision his doubts still persisted. The

doctrine of the Trinity particularly disturbed him but he determined to go forward in spite of his doubts and made the all-important discovery "that faith could wait, but duty could not." This was the great turning point in Bushnell's life and when the summer came he bade farewell to his students, and the next autumn found him in the Yale Divinity School.

Bushnell entered Yale Divinity School in the very midst of a bitter theological controversy, and Nathaniel W. Taylor, his Professor of Theology, was its storm center. Calvinism had long been doomed but, to use Professor Boynton's phrase, "it was doomed under a suspended sentence." From the time of Edwards it had been passing through a series of "improvements," but each new improver from Joseph Bellamy to Nathaniel W. Taylor, took a step in the direction of Arminianism, against which all of them professed to be defending Calvinism. Bushnell, however, from the start was entirely out of sympathy with every attempt to defend Calvinism. He had from the beginning thrown it overboard. There was too much logic and too little life about it to suit him. Taylor was an accomplished logician, and though he stood by his positions with a fine courage, he never succeeded in even interesting Bushnell. Bushnell had learned to look for truth from other sources and by other methods. His home training, his love of nature, his college experience, and finally Coleridge's "Aids to Reflection" determined that his approach to theology was to be entirely different than that of the defenders of a system. He was never a logical theologian, rather he was an intuitive searcher after divine truth.

All of Bushnell's active ministry was spent as the pastor of North Church, Hartford, Connecticut, to which he was

called in May, 1833. In the same year (September 13) he was married to Mary Apthorp, a descendant of John Davenport. It was a fortunate marriage from every standpoint, for she "tempered his somewhat undisciplined force" and "her spirituality furnished an atmosphere by which his own was steadily fed." From the very beginning of his ministry he was an accomplished preacher. In fact, his greatest sermon was one of his early ones, "Every Man's Life a Plan of God," pronounced one of the three greatest sermons of modern times. He had no sympathy with the New School-Old School controversy then raging, and when he dealt with the subjects dividing the theological parties he treated them in such a manner as to absorb both sides in a more comprehensive view. Instead of bogging down his hearers in an abyss of theological subtleties he introduced them into a world of life and Christian experience. In this kind of preaching there was no danger of dividing his hearers into theological parties. He was not, however, a popular preacher, but his chief appeal was to the thoughtful and most original minds. George Adam Smith has called him the "preacher's preacher" for his writings and sermons were the inspirers of other preachers' sermons to an unusual degree.

During the first twelve years of Bushnell's ministry there were no unusual happenings aside from the deaths of his second daughter and little son, tragic events which left their mark upon his sensitive nature never to be erased. His daughter Mary, whose excellent biography of her father is so revealing, speaks of his gentleness in the home; of his consideration for others; of his never desiring to be waited upon, insisting on carrying up the wood for his study fire after many years of invalidism, stopping pant-

ing with his armful at the second flight, but eventually reaching his study triumphantly. She recalls amusing instances of the results of his forgetfulness: of carrying letters for days in his pockets unmailed; of his forgetting his handkerchief of a Sunday morning and being compelled to borrow one at the family pew. On one occasion he reached the church minus his sermon, not discovering the omission until the service had begun. Descending from the pulpit during the second hymn, he sent Mary scurrying to his study for the missing manuscript. After that the children always inquired as they started for church whether the sermon and the handkerchief were safe.

By 1845 Bushnell's health had become so impaired that a year's vacation became a necessity and he sailed with Mrs. Bushnell for a year in Europe. Soon after his return he began the publication of that series of books which have given him enduring fame. First in the long list came his *Christian Nurture* which appeared originally in 1847 and in its final form in 1861. It was a protest against one of later Calvinism's most serious shortcomings: it allowed little or no place in the church for children. Fortunately Calvinism was not always consistent, and New England common sense often triumphed over the system. The book is a protest against the unnaturalness of considering all human nature depraved. His contention that "the child is to grow up a Christian, and never know himself as being otherwise" is the thesis upon which he insisted. The book was so full of common sense and his discussion of "Parental Qualifications," "Family Government," "Holidays and Sundays," and "Family Prayers" was so presented that at once it was widely accepted as presenting a working method for the religious training of children.

His next significant book came in 1849 after a mystical experience which came to him early one morning in 1848. When his wife awoke she knew something had happened to him as she beheld in his face a new light. She asked, "What have you seen?" "The Gospel," he replied. It was a revelation, not something "reasoned out"; it was a personal discovery of Christ. According to Mrs. Bushnell, this was the "central point" in the life of her husband, and the year 1848 one of "great experiences, great thoughts, great labors." Out of these all came *God in Christ*. "God is what we want, not man; God revealed through man"—that is the heart of the message in this book.

But the burning message was not well received by those who considered themselves the guardians of orthodoxy—and from the faculties at New Haven, Princeton, and Bangor came adverse reviews. At once the conservative ministers in the Connecticut Association began to plan to bring Bushnell to book for "denying nearly all that is precious in the Gospel of Christ." But fortunately for the church, even more than for Bushnell, Congregationalism does not possess the machinery for successful heresy hunting, and as a result nothing came of it all. In 1851 Bushnell clarified his theological position in *Christ in Theology*, though this attempt was no more satisfactory to his critics. Eventually his church withdrew from the Association to save him and themselves from further embarrassment. In the same year appeared also *The Age of Homespun*, a picture of rural life in New England during the time of his boyhood. Perhaps nothing he wrote will be longer remembered or more often quoted.

From this time forward the throat affliction with which Bushnell had been suffering for some years past became

increasingly troublesome and was gradually developing into chronic bronchitis. This compelled him to seek a milder climate, and for eleven months in 1856 he resided in California. Shortly after his arrival the Board of Trustees of the College of California offered Bushnell the presidency of that institution, then in process of establishment. He accepted with the understanding that if his health did not permit him to return to his church at Hartford he would assume the office tendered him. Thus he neither accepted nor declined it absolutely, but he at once set to work in helping the trustees select a site for the institution. This gave him outdoor as well as congenial employment. He occupied his whole time examining sites. Later the site at Berkeley, which he had preferred, was accepted and became the seat of the institution which eventually grew into the University of California. The outdoor life restored him to health and in January, 1857, he returned to Hartford. The New England climate soon undermined the strength he had gained in California. Another attempt to find health in Minnesota was made in 1859-1860 but with no great success, and despairing of ever being able to re-assume the full load of his church, he resigned his pastorate in April, 1861, and settled down in Hartford with his family about him.

Between the two extended journeys in search of health he published his *Nature and the Supernatural* (1860) for the sake of which he believed his life had been spared. He felt that it represented the best contribution he had yet made to the thought of the world and that in it he had struck a new note. He contended that "the supernatural does not imply a suspension of the laws of nature"; that nature does not make up the sum total of the universe.

"God has erected another and higher system, that of spiritual being and government, for which nature exists."

When he retired from his Hartford pastorate there yet remained to him fifteen years of life. Though they were years of increasing invalidism, that he was far from broken down was evidenced by the fact that at least half his total output was produced in these years of growing weakness. In 1864 appeared a volume of essays entitled *Work and Play* and a volume of sermons, *Christ and His Salvation*. Two years later came perhaps his most significant book, *The Vicarious Sacrifice, Grounded in the Principles of Universal Obligation*, a work which rejected the mechanical theories of the atonement and replaced them by one far more acceptable to those who, like Bushnell, lay emphasis upon reasonableness and common sense in religion. In 1868 appeared another collection of essays, the *Moral Uses of Dark Things*; in 1872 came *Sermons on Living Subjects* and in 1874 his last book *Forgiveness and Law*. Two years later, February 17, 1876, his spirit left his weakened body. Two days before he passed away, on February 15, the Common Council of Hartford passed a resolution naming the city park Bushnell Park. This had been laid out in 1854 largely as a result of a plan proposed and urged by Bushnell.

Bushnell's interest in human life and welfare naturally caused him to take an interest in public affairs. He spoke and wrote on such subjects as *Common Schools*; the need of education in the West; popular government by divine right. After his return from Italy in 1846 he wrote Pope Gregory XVI urging governmental and church reforms in the Papal States. The letter gained considerable notoriety in Europe, was translated into Italian, and was placed upon

the *Index* by the Catholic authorities. In 1869 he came out in a pamphlet against woman suffrage which he called *The Reform against Nature*.

As Buckham suggests, Bushnell was a prophet rather than a theologian for he could not hold himself to exact statement. Perhaps we have here the reason for his open-mindedness, something unusual among theologians, for he had no exact definitions to defend. Perhaps, too, we have here the reason why he was always a learner, for not having a system, he felt no compulsion to bring his thoughts to completion.

In trying to summarize the contribution made by Horace Bushnell one can do no better than follow the suggestions of Buckham in his treatment of Bushnell in *Progressive Religious Thought in America*. The earliest of his contributions was his rescue of child life from attempted crowding into one "inflexible and extreme pattern" by which normal instincts and natural development were, to say the least, hampered. This he did by emphasizing the nurturing process in Christian development. His second contribution lay in substituting a theology of experience and faith for a cold, logical system which had little to do either with life or with common sense. He accomplished this in his *Dissertation on Language* which lay at the base of all his other theological treatises. He questioned whether a complete and proper Christian theology could be produced in human language. His third contribution lay in helping to break down the dividing line between nature and the supernatural by revealing that both are parts of one system. And finally and perhaps most important of all his contributions, especially from the standpoint of its effect upon preaching, was his emphasis upon the centrality of Christ

in Christianity. Christ in New England theology had become little more than a theological concept; Bushnell restored the Christ of the Gospels, a living, pulsing, appealing personality.

I do not believe that it is an exaggeration to say that much of the best preaching in America during the last half century, at least, has been largely dependent upon Horace Bushnell, "the preacher's preacher."

PROTAGONISTS OF THE SOCIAL GOSPEL

That emphasis in American Protestant Christianity known as the Social Gospel came about as the result of the rapidly changing economic and social conditions since the Civil War. But it would be a mistake to suppose that this emphasis is something entirely new in Christianity. Early Christianity assumed the right to regulate the entire man, his temporal as well as his spiritual concerns. The Middle Ages conceived of religion as dominating all of life and without serious opposition from the temporal power presumed to regulate both private and public conduct according to its precepts. It forbade usury and outlawed war, at least during certain times of the year. With the dawn of Protestantism there arose certain states, such as Geneva under John Calvin, where the spiritual authority dominated the life of the people, while the Puritans both in England and America attempted to establish a state in which the will of God, as directed by his chosen, was to be carried out and enforced by the civil power.

With the development of capitalism and the rapid rise of industrial society in the eighteenth century, religion gradually lost its place as a controlling influence in the conduct of business. As long as the rich and the powerful were gen-

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erous in their gifts to religion and to charitable causes, it came to be considered not the church's concern how riches and power had been acquired. This attitude is well illustrated by the treasurer of a denominational college during the "muckraking" era when he said that the only tainted money he knew anything about was "'Tain't enough." Of course Christianity has always condemned open theft and dishonesty, but it is only in very recent years that there has been any wide recognition of the social responsibility of the Christian church.

The first breach in the wall which had come to divide religion from political and business matters was the concern which developed among Christian leaders over the widespread debauchery as the result of the intemperate use of intoxicating liquor. Beginning with Lyman Beecher and his six temperance sermons preached at Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1825, the movement spread rapidly, and soon the church was beginning to interfere with the liquor business in the interest of the home and childhood. Under the pressure exerted through the churches and temperance organizations states began to pass restrictive liquor laws, and by 1855 fifteen had enacted prohibitory measures. The passage of the federal internal revenue act of 1862, as a war measure, soon undid however all that had been accomplished up to that time, and the consumption of liquor became almost a patriotic duty. But the Civil War was hardly over before the Christian forces began once more to organize to fight the liquor business, activity culminating in the formation of the Anti-Saloon League in 1895, often characterized as the "church in action against the saloon." The church also began to concern itself about the institution of slavery from the Revolution onward, and from 1840 to

the outbreak of the Civil War the slavery question had become, in the minds of perhaps a majority of people in the North, no longer simply an economic and political matter but primarily a moral and religious issue.

The rapid expansion of industry in the post-Civil War years followed by the panic of 1873 led to vast unemployment and a cruel drop in wages. Labor organizations appeared for the first time in the eighteen sixties; and the general hopelessness of the economic outlook led to great strikes, and throughout the latter seventies and the eighties there occurred the most violent labor revolts in American history. Generally speaking these labor disturbances found little sympathy among middle class people, the class making up the largest proportion of church members. They deplored the vast waste involved and blamed labor rather than capital for the loss of life and destruction of property. These disturbances tended to blind them to the injustices to which labor had been subjected; to the low wages, the long hours, and the lack of facilities for comfort or even decency. Church papers generally voiced this sentiment.

As a result of this lack of sympathy on the part of church people for the demands of labor, there began to develop a clearly discernible cleavage between labor and the church. The Protestant churches made up almost entirely of employers, salaried persons, farmers, and those engaged in personal service for such persons, seemed completely indifferent to the need of making any application of the principles which they professed to believe toward the solution of industrial problems. The natural result was the growing feeling, which began to be frequently expressed, on the part of labor, that the church had become an organ of capitalism.

Back of this immediate situation, however, were other

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influences which helped create the Social Gospel movement. Some of these were the liberal tendencies in theology as represented by Channing and Bushnell; the new emphasis upon social studies and the giving to sociology a place in the curriculums of the colleges, universities, and seminaries; and finally the rise of a group of political economists such as Ely, Commons, Henry George, and Bellamy, all of whom were writing "with religious presuppositions."

Such were the forces which began to challenge the church and there soon emerged a new type of Christian leadership as a result. John R. Commons had written in 1894 that Christianity was strong in promoting charity but weak in furthering justice. The new Social Gospel leadership which now arose reversed that emphasis.

Among the most important leaders in the Social Gospel movement, at least from the standpoint of influencing the American churches, were Washington Gladden and Walter Rauschenbusch. The former a Congregational minister, Pennsylvanian by birth, a graduate of Williams College, was minister of the principal Congregational church in Columbus, Ohio, from 1882 to his death in 1918. Horace Bushnell gave him his theology in his early ministry, and his coming to Columbus in the midst of the labor revolts determined that his great interest from that time on was to be in furthering the message of the Social Gospel. The declaration of the General Manager of the Hocking Valley Coal Company, who was one of his parishioners, in the midst of a bitterly fought coal strike, "We will kill that union if it costs us half a million dollars," led Gladden ever after to maintain the right of labor to organize. And this right he upheld in public address and in his books. This, it must be remembered, was at a time when most church

people were denouncing labor unions as un-American and as enemies of the church and religion.

Gladden's total literary output was thirty-two volumes. His method was to speak and then put what he had said into books, which were widely read, especially by the younger ministers. But long after his books are forgotten Christian people will continue to sing his best-known hymn:

O Master, let me walk with thee,
In lowly paths of service free.

WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH

Walter Rauschenbusch (born October 4, 1861) was twenty-five years younger than Washington Gladden and his interest in the Social Gospel was naturally of somewhat more recent development. Gladden was of New England stock; Rauschenbusch was the son of German immigrants—his father, the Rev. Augustus Rauschenbusch, and his mother, Caroline Rhomp, having come to America as a result of the unsuccessful revolution of 1848. His father had been a Lutheran minister, in fact the sixth in an unbroken line of ministers. Soon after coming to America as a missionary among the German immigrants he became a Baptist, and in 1858 began the work of teaching church history and other subjects in the German department of the Rochester Theological Seminary. It was here that Walter Rauschenbusch was born.

His early religious environment was that of the orthodox Baptist home together with the Church and Sunday School. At seventeen he had a decided emotional religious experience which proved a turning point in his life. He thus describes what happened:

When young manhood was coming on me and I began to feel the stirrings of human ambition within me . . . I said to myself . . . "I want to become a man; I want to be respected; and if I go on like this, I cannot have the respect of men." This was my way of saying, "I am out in the far country, and I do not want to tend hogs any longer." And so I came to my Father, and I began to pray for help and got it.

Following this experience came the "call" to preach. "I wanted to do hard work for God" was the way he put it. After graduating *primus omnium* from the Gymnasium of Gütersloh in Westphalia, he returned to the University of Rochester where he received his bachelor's degree after an additional year, and in 1886 was graduated from the Rochester Theological Seminary. At once a call came from a small German Baptist church on West Forty-fifth Street in New York City, a region bordering on what was then known as "Hell's Kitchen." It was here that his real interest in the Social Gospel began to develop.

For eleven years Rauschenbusch served this small German congregation, whose membership was made up entirely of working people. It was a period of "hard times" with men begging for work, when there were many funerals of little children whose deaths had been caused by malnutrition and the indescribable living conditions of the New York tenements. Forced by want and economic stress he saw "good men go into disreputable lines of employment, and respectable widows consent to live with men who would support them and their children." He soon found that his old religious ideas did not fit the situation he faced. Driven to a new study of the Bible he discovered that social concern was not inconsistent with the teachings and ideals of

Jesus. . It was during this period that Henry George was exerting his greatest influence; in fact he was running for mayor at the time Rauschenbusch came to New York. Religion and political economy were identified in the thought of Henry George, and he exerted a great influence upon the young German pastor. In a paper read before a literary society in 1887 on Henry George, Rauschenbusch closes with these words:

Dear friends, there is a social question. No one can doubt it, in whose ears are ringing the wails of the mangled and the crushed, who are borne along on the pent-up torrent of human life. . . . The Jews were blinded by existing customs and the traditions of their fathers, and they rejected Christ. Let us take heed lest we too bow to that which is, and refuse allegiance to that which ought to be.

It was during this period also that Rauschenbusch began to set forth his views on social questions in various articles, especially in the *Christian Inquirer*, a New York weekly religious journal. As he continued to express himself in writing his views on the relation of religion to the social question began to take definite shape. He had found that many of his fellow ministers objected to the social emphasis, because they said it was not religious. Now Rauschenbusch himself was a strong advocate of personal religion, as he continued to be all his life: his problem was to find a conception of religion which would include the whole of life, its personal aspects as well as its social interests. Finally the idea of the Kingdom of God offered itself to him as the real solution, which, in an article published in 1892, he called "A Conquering Idea." To him the Kingdom of God was not something to be realized in the next world, it was

something to be worked for here and now. The Kingdom of God of course begins with personal religion; it concerns itself with getting justice for the working man, because justice is a part of the Kingdom of God. "It carries God into everything you do, and there is nothing else that does it in the same way."

In 1889 Rauschenbusch with three like-minded associates started a little monthly periodical called *For the Right*. Its subscription price was fifty cents and it was published in the interests of the working people of New York. As long as the paper was published it was the principal medium through which Rauschenbusch expressed his maturing views of the relation of religion to such matters as strikes, stock market gambling, the great interests, the railroads and their relationship to the public, political and economic reform, education, and the relation of church and state. Although such matters occupied much of his thought, he emphasized consistently throughout his life the need for both personal regeneration and social reform, and he insisted that he was not seeking to substitute social activities for religion. Nor did these interests cause him to neglect the work of his church. The membership increased from 143 to 213 during the first three years of his pastorate and the church became entirely self-supporting. (It had been a missionary enterprise before his advent.) Also a new church was being erected in a more desirable location.

In 1893 Rauschenbusch married Pauline Rother of Milwaukee, and the union was to prove a happy and fortunate one. In the course of the years three sons and two daughters were born to them. It was during his ministry in New York that Rauschenbusch suffered the complete loss of his hearing (1888), due to premature exposure in a severe

storm after a critical illness. After that, his wife was the indispensable interpreter and medium through which the world of sound came to him. Though keenly aware of his handicap, Rauschenbusch "did not allow it to interfere with that gracious and sparkling humor—which was so marked a characteristic of his thinking and his word."

In 1892 Rauschenbusch, in association with Leighton Williams and Samuel Z. Batten, two other young Baptist ministers who had been thinking along similar lines, called an informal conference in Philadelphia to "promote mutual acquaintance and to consider some methods of closer co-operation in Christian work." Eventually the group took the name *The Brotherhood of the Kingdom*. For a number of years the Brotherhood sponsored interdenominational meetings at Marlborough-on-Hudson, the summer home of Williams' mother. Among the first tasks to which the Brotherhood set itself was that of preparing a series of essays on the Kingdom of God in its various relationships. And in all of the group's activities Rauschenbusch was one of the moving spirits. Their idea was to make central in Christianity the idea of the Kingdom of God. Most of the members came to stand for Christian Socialism, among them Rauschenbusch, who said that he did not see how anyone could remain an individualist after reading the Sermon on the Mount. Years later (1907) in appraising the influence of the Brotherhood in bringing about needed changes in Christian thinking, Rauschenbusch expressed the belief that the group had aided greatly in effecting that change. "These great aims," he said, "vitalized our thought, put us in contact with the right movements and men, and so made men of us."

Two years before his marriage (1891) he had spent a

further year of study in Germany, stopping in England, where he made a study of industrial conditions in London and Birmingham.

By 1897 Walter Rauschenbusch, though a relatively young man, had established a reputation, at least in his own denomination, not only as an active and successful pastor, but as a keen and courageous student. His call to the German department of Rochester Theological Seminary as a teacher of a wide variety of subjects, including New Testament and Natural Science, was therefore not surprising. Five years later he became the Professor of Church History in the English department of the Rochester Theological Seminary, and here he was to remain until his untimely death in 1918.

The spirit in which he began his new professorship is illustrated by a letter he sent to the ministers of the "little churches" in and around Rochester. In this letter he offered to come to them for a sermon or an address on any convenient Sunday or week evening, because, he said, "I know by experience that they [little churches] usually have to hoe their row alone." This service was to be entirely free, he added, "and will place you under no obligation except that of brotherly affection."

Thus Rauschenbusch came to his new work as a theological professor already fully imbued with the leaven of the Social Gospel. Articles continued to appear from his pen with increasing frequency, in both church and secular press, in which the principal theme was always some phase of the Social Gospel. In an article in the *Iron Molders Journal* in 1902 he pointed out to the workers the fact that the accusation that the church gives the "cold shoulder" to the workingman may also be charged against the working-

man, who just as frequently does the same thing when a minister approaches him on behalf of the church. A recent student of Walter Rauschenbusch has listed nearly a hundred articles by him, but it was his books which gave him and his message not only the widest publicity, but the ability to exert a nation-wide influence.

Altogether Rauschenbusch wrote seven books, not a large output to be sure, but four of them may be termed major works in the field of the Social Gospel. His first book, *Christianity and the Social Crisis*, appeared in 1907; the manuscript had been read and recommended to the publishers by Shailer Mathews. The book made him at once a national figure, in demand for addresses in every section of the country, his leadership overtopping all denominational lines. The book revealed that he possessed not only accurate historical knowledge, for his approach was historical in character, but also "critical insight and dynamic passion." In other words, the book not only impressed its readers, it stirred them to action. His second book, *Prayers of the Social Gospel*, was published in 1909, and grew out of his feeling that the liturgy of the church did not provide adequately for the demands of social thought. Many of the prayers were written on Pullman cars as he journeyed about, meeting his multitudinous engagements, shut away by his deafness from all the noise of travel. It is impossible to estimate the influence of prayers, for they live in that higher realm for which we have no measurements, but I venture the statement that many of these prayers will outlast everything else he wrote.

His third major book, *Christianizing the Social Order*, appeared in 1912. It grew out of a series of lectures at the Pacific School of Religion and at Ohio Wesleyan Uni-

versity. The wide appeal of his first book made it inevitable that he would be called upon to answer some of the questions raised by it. Such questions as: What must we do, and what must we undo, if the social order is to be made Christian? He attempted to answer such questions in this book by describing the present social order; by showing that Christianizing the social order was what Christianity set out to do; by setting forth what in the present order is Christian and what is not; and finally he pointed out the possibilities of advance. His fourth important book, the *Theology of the Social Gospel*, was the outcome of his occupancy of the Nathaniel W. Taylor lectureship at Yale Divinity School in 1917. The heart of these lectures naturally centered on his discussion of sin and salvation and the Kingdom of God.

The outbreak of the World War was a crushing blow to Walter Rauschenbusch. His German name and parentage made him an object of suspicion among unthinking people who hated everything and anything that had the slightest suggestion of a German heritage. In 1915 he had joined with others in urging that no munitions be sent to either side, and this too brought him under suspicion. He had been so hopeful that a new social order was about to be realized that the calamity which had burst upon the world came to him as an unutterably tragic death, and as a token of grief he wore a small piece of crape upon the lapel of his coat. But he was not to live to see the end of the War. Taken with an incurable disease, he was brought to the Johns Hopkins Hospital where he died in his fifty-sixth year on July 25, 1918.

Writing to a friend from his bed from which he never again was to rise, he said:

In my efforts to secure more freedom and justice for men I acted under religious impulses. I realized that God hates injustice and that I would be quenching the life of God within me if I kept silent with all this social iniquity of the world around me.

Walter Rauschenbusch's place in the development of the emphasis upon the Social Gospel in American Christianity was primarily that of a prophet. He was at his best in pointing out the defects in the social and economic structure of his time and in bringing the church to a realization of its failure in these respects. He furnished little in the way of constructive leadership, or toward formulating ways and means to translate the social message into practical operation: his deafness no doubt was partly responsible for that failure. But as a prophet of the social message none performed a greater service to society and the church.

BORDEN PARKER BOWNE

"The teacher's life is rarely a showy one, and to many it is a root out of dry ground, but for real and permanent influence no one has more of it than the effective teacher. 'Our echoes roll from soul to soul and grow forever and forever.'" These words were written by Borden P. Bowne to a friend on November 14, 1909, less than five months before his death (April 1, 1910), and no statement of his own influence as a teacher could be more apt.

Borden Parker Bowne was a native of New Jersey and was born in the village of Leonardsville near Atlantic Highlands on January 14, 1847. The Bownes were of English Puritan stock, the American ancestors, William and Ann Bowne, having come to Salem, Massachusetts, in 1631 and some thirty years later moved to New Jersey where

they became leaders in the settlement of that province. It may have been that their leaving Massachusetts was due to the adoption of the Half-Way Covenant in 1662, a measure responsible for a considerable New England migration into New Jersey and for the founding of Newark. Borden Parker Bowne's father was Joseph Bowne, his mother was Margaret Parker. They were substantial people in the farm community where they resided, the father being a justice of the peace and noted for his sturdy qualities and for his strong anti-slavery convictions. The farmhouse over which Margaret Parker presided was always scrupulously neat and an atmosphere of simple piety pervaded the home. It was a stanch Methodist home to which the *Christian Advocate* made weekly visits, and it was always open to the Methodist itinerants. When Borden P. Bowne became a distinguished teacher he never tired of drawing illustrations from recollections of boyhood incidents and people.

Bowne's early education was that of the typical American rural community of the fifties and early sixties. He early developed a fondness for reading and he lived over again in his imagination the adventures of Don Quixote and Gil Blas. Having finished the elementary school he spent a winter teaching, and though but sixteen years of age was able to bring order and discipline into a school noted for its unruly character. Then followed a period as the driver of a grocery wagon in Brooklyn, and it was while thus engaged that he determined to secure an education, and made the announcement of his decision to his mother. That the father and mother were in sympathy with his ambition is evidenced by the fact that his father supplied the money to get him started at Pennington Seminary. Less than a year's schooling at Pennington, together with private study, pre-

pared him for New York University, and he passed the examinations for entrance with distinction.

It soon became evident to his teachers both at Pennington Seminary and at New York University that young Bowne had an unusual mind, for he was as proficient in Physics and Mathematics as in the languages. He entered the University in 1867 and was graduated in 1871 at the head of his class, having won the prize for maintaining the highest excellence throughout the entire course. He early manifested distinct philosophical tendencies and while a student had outlined in his notebook a treatise on *Ethics*; and when in 1892 there appeared his *Principles of Ethics*, it was apparent that its point of view was essentially that of the youthful outline.

Immediately on graduation from New York University young Bowne took steps to join the New York East Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was ordained deacon and assigned to the pastorate of a little church at Whitestone, Long Island. An opportunity to study abroad, however, came the following year and he did not become a fully ordained minister until ten years later (1882).

The two years spent in European study (1873-1875) at Halle, Goettingen, and Paris were utilized to the full, though the accomplishment entailed the closest economy. A letter written to his mother from Halle speaks of his "cold room" and of carrying rolls in his coat-tail pocket and eating them without butter as he went along the street. He made expenses largely by tutoring, which was an aid in the learning of German and French, and he came to speak the latter like a native. Of all those with whom Bowne came into contact during his foreign study he was

most influenced by Professor Rudolph Hermann Lotze, then near the end of his distinguished career. In his earlier works Bowne recognized his dependence upon his great German teacher, whose philosophy helped him to "disregard the materialism of science, the skepticism of shallow culture, and the disquieting results of philosophical and historical criticism." Lotze in turn paid high tribute to the work of Bowne and told his brilliant student that his insights led him to question his own philosophic system. Bowne's German experience caused him ever afterwards to estimate educational values not in terms of buildings and educational apparatus, and this was doubtless one of the reasons which led him to remain at Boston University when tempting offers came to him from other and better-equipped universities. His European experience was manifest also in his relation to his students, for he maintained always a more or less "take-it-or-leave-it-attitude." Religiously Bowne's years of European study do not seem to have weakened his inner convictions. He never permitted any of his teachers to throw him off the track. His intellectual independence was such that he refused to accept new views without thorough and critical scrutiny.

Returning to America Bowne found employment on the editorial staff of the *Independent* and at the same time conducted classes in modern languages at New York University. His connection with the *Independent* gave him opportunity for critical book reviewing and other writing which display a maturity of mind far beyond his years. In 1876 when Bowne was twenty-nine years of age he was called to the professorship of philosophy at the newly established Boston University. Here he remained for thirty-four years, exerting an increasingly powerful influence on

each succeeding generation of students. As his fame as a teacher and philosopher grew invitations were extended to join other faculties, perhaps the most appealing being that which came from President Harper of the University of Chicago when he was gathering outstanding scholars to form the first faculty of that institution. All these invitations however Bowne declined, preferring to remain at Boston, where, among all its faculties, his became the most famous name.

Bowne's first important philosophical writing was a series of articles published anonymously in *The New Englander* in 1872, when he was but one year out of college. Two years later they were re-published in book form while Bowne was studying in Europe. The work was a caustic criticism of Herbert Spencer. At that time Herbert Spencer was in great vogue: the great reconciler of science and religion. But his method was to assign to science all that was knowable and to religion all that was unknowable. Bowne attacked Spencer on the ground of his logic and showed that to follow Spencer's system rendered all knowledge impossible, scientific as well as religious. Spencer had convinced himself and many others that he had reached "final truth," and to have him handled in this sharp manner was a rude shock to the Spencerian dogmatists. This attack Bowne made in the interest of religion. Ever afterwards, McConnell tells us, Bowne was accustomed to use Spencer's *First Principles* as a "cadaver" on which his students might acquire dissecting practice.

Bowne as a philosopher was never greatly interested in building a system. "More and more," he once said, "I am becoming indifferent to completed systematic statements and to finalities. . . . I only aim to stimulate thought along

the lines in which I conceive the truth to lie." He thought of philosophy as an instrument for the furtherance and enrichment of human life, and the reason he placed religion in a central place in all his thought was because he held that religion was of prime importance for life. Starting as an idealist of the Lotze type, he came more and more to stress the reality of the self, back of all laws and categories. He never wearied of emphasizing the freedom of the self "and its relation to the unseen that was behind the universe." He finally came to lay such emphasis upon the importance of personality that he designated his philosophy as "Personalism." To him personality was the ultimate principle. Bowne held, in the words of Bishop McConnell, that "unconscious intelligence means nothing at all," but "a full-orbed personal life, without variableness or shadow of turning, in entire possession of itself, would be adequate" on which to build a consistent theory of the universe. More than a decade after the death of Bowne, Professor Hocking wrote, "There is no more powerful and convincing chapter in metaphysical writing than that of Bowne on 'The Failure of Impersonalism.'"

Throughout his life Bowne was a staunch defender of the theistic position. The intelligibility of the universe he held to be the decisive argument as far as logic is concerned. In his defense of theism he launched telling attacks upon atheism. He charged the atheists of a faith "amounting to credulity." Of "having matter performing miracles . . . dancing according to the demands of equations which only the highest mathematics can grasp." Such faith, he was accustomed to say, was "beyond anything in Israel." Although believing that the ongoing universe was ruled by reason he had no patience with men who were eternally

trying to explain what the divine purpose was in its every detail. In fact he was "almost remorseless in insisting that the universe is in many of its aspects none of our business."

Though as has been noted Bowne placed religion at the very center of all his thinking, toward the end of his life he gave increasing attention to theology as such. In fact all his books from 1896 to his death, with one exception, were theological in their nature and purpose. In 1896 he published *The Christian Revelation*; three years later his *The Christian Life* appeared. In 1900 came his little book on the *Atonement*; in 1902 his *Theism*; in 1905 *The Immanence of God*; in 1908 *Personalism*; in 1909 his *Studies in Christianity*; and his last book in 1910 on *The Essence of Religion*. His earlier books, especially *Metaphysics*, *The Philosophy of Theism*, and *Principles of Ethics*, found wide use as texts in colleges, universities, and theological seminaries. "The immanence of God, the ethical character of the religious experience, and the essentially formal nature of law" were the principal ideas in religion with which he worked.

Bowne's magnetic personality, the crispness of his style, and the joy which he took in dissenting from the popular thought tendencies of his time made him a veritable magnet to the best student minds of the University. He had little use for the drones and the incompetents, but he delighted in his best students and no one ever loved to teach more than he. He welcomed theological students into his classes, and his chief sport was in making sarcastic sallies at their expense, but he loved them all. He taught them as individuals and remembered them one by one.

His own personal religious life was intense. He was loyal to the church and faithful in his attendance upon its

services, and he seldom missed a prayer meeting. But his loyalty to the church did not blind him to its faults. He came to be particularly caustic in his criticism of officialism, especially of that fussy and slippery type of ecclesiasticism which concerned itself with defending the faith but was not too careful about common truth-telling. When Hinckley G. Mitchell, professor of Old Testament in Boston University School of Theology, was brought to trial for heresy he found a sturdy and courageous defender in his colleague, Borden P. Bowne. Later Bowne himself was charged with heresy and when brought to trial before his own Conference was triumphantly acquitted. Mitchell, however, was dismissed. These unpleasant experiences were responsible for Bowne's forthright denunciation of "men of mediocre intelligence and submediocre character" who get into places of ecclesiastical power. When such men are elected to office they become "hyperorthodox" and as a result "we have the infamies which fill the pages of Buckle and Lecky and Andrew D. White and others." Such men, he says, "cannot discuss but they can decide; they cannot refute but they can condemn." But in the face of this sad situation he consoles himself with the thought that "God is in no hurry, and he puts up with it; and we must do so too."

In 1906 Bowne made a trip around the world, lectured in China, Japan, and India and returned to his classroom eager to meet his students again. For four years more he carried on with his accustomed vigor, then suddenly on April 1, 1910, he was seized with a heart attack as he met one of his classes. He died on the afternoon of the same day at his home at 380 Longwood Street, Boston, just as the roses in his enchanting rose garden were beginning to put forth their first green shoots.

When Bowne began his career as a teacher of philosophy at Boston University American Protestantism was cowering before the onslaughts of the new science. Accommodators of science and religion like Herbert Spencer and John Fiske gave little comfort to those who were concerned about the survival of vital religious faith. Bowne's self-confidence and his sprightly attacks on the evolutionary philosophy undergirded religion and set it on its feet. And yet Bowne found little recognition among contemporary philosophers. His brief for religion was considered fatal to impartial investigation among the naturalists. As Bishop McConnell points out, a "militant theist in America is not likely to get much of a standing among the professional philosophers," for the reason that "the existence of God cannot be proved, and the philosophers treat the theist as if he thought he could demonstrate the fact of God." This, of course, Bowne never claimed to do. But what Lotze did for the Germany of his time, Bowne did for Protestantism in America, and more. He restored confidence in a religious faith that could "disregard the materialism of science" and the "skepticism of shallow culture."

In the last year of Bowne's life he wrote: "I am a personalist, the first of the clan in any thoroughgoing sense." And he has significance for our time because he is the father of a school of religious thought which is today far stronger than when he passed from the stage of action a quarter-century ago. It is an interesting fact that throughout the history of religious thought in America there have been but two schools created, the first, the Edwardian school of which Jonathan Edwards was the father, the second, the Personalist school of Borden Parker Bowne.

LYMAN ABBOTT

No religious leader in modern America has exercised a more abiding influence than has Lyman Abbott. For sixty years he gave himself to one form or another of Christian activity, and achieved distinction as editor, preacher, and author. Though he maintained a lifelong affiliation with the Congregational church, his spirit was far too broad to be confined to any one denomination, and during his latter years his leadership was universally recognized by religious people generally, whether Jew or Gentile, Catholic or Protestant.

Lyman Abbott was the third child (born December 18, 1835) in a family of four sons. His father, Jacob Abbott, was the author of the famous *Rollo* books, which were begun in 1834 and eventually comprised twenty-eight volumes. Jacob Abbott was a graduate of Bowdoin College and Andover Theological Seminary, and after two years as a member of the faculty of Amherst College, he established a school for girls in Boston in which new methods of discipline were put into operation. Later he co-operated with a brother in opening another school for girls in New York City, but from 1851 he devoted himself to the writing of books for children. Lyman Abbott's mother, Harriet Vaughn, died when he was eight years of age, but she had so impressed her spirit upon him, that he never got away from the feeling that whatever happened to him she knew and cared. Though Lyman was born in Boston, the family moved to Farmington, Maine, the home of his paternal grandfather when he was three years old.

The death of his mother caused the breaking up of the boy's home, but no child could have been more carefully

looked after, for the Abbott family was closely knit, and there were aunts and uncles and two older brothers to share the responsibility of the younger children. In fact, Abbott tells us that he had four mothers, three on earth and one in heaven. And though he was brought up amidst Puritan surroundings his childhood recollections of the village church, of the religious instruction in the home, and of the Puritan Sabbath were pleasant ones: the reason seemingly being that the Abbotts as a family were endowed with an extraordinary degree of common sense which tempered their Puritanism and made them easy to live with. The boy was never robust in health but he enjoyed a normal and happy childhood, and was prepared for college in schools conducted by his uncles, the first at Farmington, Maine, the second in Norwich, Connecticut, which he entered in 1846. His father's removal to New York was the determining factor in the selection of New York University as the institution to which he and his brothers were to go. His two older brothers, Benjamin Vaughn and Austin were already enrolled when Lyman entered the University in 1849, and they all lived together in rented rooms and took their meals at restaurants. Though Jacob Abbott remarried in 1853, he never again established a home.

At that time New York University was a young and small institution, but it had on its faculty several men of growing power and distinction, and Abbott acknowledged his deep indebtedness especially to C. S. Henry, Professor of Philosophy, and to Howard Crosby, Professor of Greek. The latter was one of his boyhood heroes and became a lifelong friend.

By the time Lyman Abbott graduated from college in

1853 his two older brothers had established a successful law partnership in New York and invited him to join the firm. This he decided to do, and after two years of study and apprenticeship in their office, he became a member of the firm in 1855. Two years later he married a distant cousin, Abby Frances Hamlin. Of her influence Abbott makes frequent acknowledgment. His clarity of style he says was due to what he inherited from his father and learned from his wife. Her natural conservatism tempered his natural radicalism, and exerted an influence which enabled him to "move forward with a progressive age without disrespect for or embittered conflict with the men and women of more conservative temper." Meanwhile, the law firm of Abbott Brothers was gaining increased recognition and soon had more business than the three could attend to.

In spite of his happy marriage and increasing success in business, Abbott was not fully satisfied. He was restless. Soon after his marriage he had purchased a home in Brooklyn not far from the church of Henry Ward Beecher (he had previously joined a Presbyterian church in New York). Listening every Sunday to Beecher's magnificent sermons, his childhood aspirations to the ministry were rekindled, and, he says, "I could not extinguish them." To these influences must be added the revival of 1857-1858. This great revival movement was characterized by prayer-meetings, assembled without formal planning, where religion was considered as something natural and normal, and as something to be enjoyed. These meetings at Plymouth Church which Abbott faithfully attended were the determining factor in causing him to give up the practice of law to enter the ministry. Though the decision would mean starting all over again, with increased hardship for his wife, she made

no objection; asked by a friend what she thought of the change, she replied, "I did not marry a lawyer. I married Lyman Abbott."

The only theological preparation Abbott had was obtained during eight months of private study at "Fewacres," the ancestral home in Maine, where he went with his wife and child on leaving his law practice in New York. The first five weeks of that period his father also was at "Fewacres," and these, he says, were among the most important weeks in his life. As a matter of fact, Lyman Abbott was largely the product of parental and family influence. The fundamental theological positions which he came to hold were largely the result, as he freely admits, of his father's teaching and influence. During this year of study the opportunity came for him to supply the pulpit of a rural Congregational church at Wilton, Maine; and that winter's experience fixed the method of sermon preparation which he followed ever afterward. Busily engaged through the week in general study, he drew his sermon, when Sunday came, out of the reservoir which his study kept constantly full; and in this way he remained always abreast of the best thought. Such a method did not of course produce the eloquent orator; but it possessed a unique effectiveness, for, as he says, "I am often thanked for the talk you gave us this morning."

In the spring of 1860 a call came to him from the Congregational church of Terre Haute, Indiana. This church had been established in 1834 by a young minister, Merrick A. Jewett, who had stopped in Terre Haute on his way west looking for a missionary field. He was asked to preach, with the result that a church was formed, which for six years had no creed or ecclesiastical connections. It was

not until 1850 that it was received into the Congregational fellowship. The church, therefore, had none of the background which characterized New England Congregationalism. Abbott remained here throughout the Civil War. Public opinion in the Terre Haute vicinity was by no means unanimous on the policies of the Lincoln administration or on the anti-slavery views of their young Yankee minister; by 1862, however, Abbott had so won the confidence and affection of his people that he was able to address them on the slavery issue without causing offense. Recollection of the experiences of these years of his early ministry led him to say in his old age:

I have been a lawyer, a pastor, an executive, an author, and a journalist. Of all these professions the pastor's is the most illuminating, the most troubled and the most peaceful, the most burdensome and the most carefree, the most sorrowful and the most joyous.

As the War neared its close, Abbott became increasingly concerned over the question of the reconstruction of the southern states. In the autumn of 1864 he had published an article in *The New Englander* of New Haven, Connecticut, on the problem of reconstruction, which seems to have been the immediate cause for his selection as Corresponding Secretary of a newly formed organization called the American Union Commission. This organization grew out of the desire on the part of certain philanthropists to unify the work for the freedmen being carried on by numerous societies which had sprung up all over the North; its purpose was to co-operate closely with the government in the work of reconstruction. Its object appealed to Abbott and he accepted the position; and for four years (1865-

1869) of political anarchy he attempted "by measures wholly pacific a work of moral reconstruction in the South." During this period the society raised and expended five million dollars. Later in life he looked back at this experience in trying to promote Christianity instead of denominationism—an effort in preparation for what later became his life work as the editor of a religious journal entirely free of ecclesiastical control. In the spring of 1869 the American Freedmen's Union Commission was disbanded, its directors considering its work completed, and Lyman Abbott was without a position. During the period of his secretaryship he had served as the pastor of a congregation on Forty-first Street in New York which had been formed some years before as an independent Methodist church. Later it became affiliated with the Congregationalists and took the name New England Congregational Church. Abbott's relation to this congregation was also terminated in 1869, leaving him with no assured income except his monthly salary of fifty dollars as editor of the *Book Table* for *Harpers's Magazine*. To make matters worse his wife developed consumption. And there were now four children.

The illness of Mrs. Abbott made it necessary that she live outside the city and accordingly they took up their residence at Cornwall on the Hudson. Here the following year Lyman Abbott built a house with money borrowed from his father which became thereafter the permanent home of the family. But no parish sought his services and he had determined as a young minister never himself to seek a pulpit. In 1870, however, the minister of the small Presbyterian church at Cornwall, with which the Abbotts had united, retired, and Abbott was asked to supply the pulpit. This he continued to do for seventeen years, in

fact until he was invited to become the successor of Henry Ward Beecher at Plymouth Church, though he was never formally installed as the minister of the church.

Meanwhile to provide for his growing family he was increasingly active in newspaper and periodical writing. He planned and eventually completed several volumes, among them *A Religious Dictionary* and a volume of *Old Testament Stories*, and he planned a *Commentary on the New Testament*. In 1871 an invitation came to him to become the editor of a new publication projected by the American Tract Society to be called the *Illustrated Christian Weekly*. With the acceptance of this position began his long editorial career. Five years later he was invited to become the assistant editor of the *Christian Union*, a paper which Henry Ward Beecher and his friends had established in 1866. Beecher's connection with the paper was largely nominal, and when he voluntarily gave up all connection with it in 1881, Abbott was made editor-in-chief. In 1893 the name of the paper was changed to the *Outlook* and was soon recognized as one of the most influential journals in America.

It was as a journalist that Lyman Abbott excelled. While editor of the *Christian Union* he had begun the policy of narrating and interpreting the events of each week, a practice new at that time in American journalism. At first he wrote this weekly survey himself, but later when an able staff had been gathered to assist him, his work was largely that of co-ordinating the work of others. His aim was to make the *Outlook* Christian though not theological or ecclesiastical. It always stood for practical and progressive Christianity, and in its treatment of any controversial question it was scrupulously fair, while it maintained a high

standard of literary quality. Abbott's chief strength as a writer was in his faculty for clear statement and his gift of analysis and comparison.

But the story of Lyman Abbott's editorial career will not suffice to account for his total significance.

On Sunday March 6, 1887, the morning papers carried the news that Henry Ward Beecher lay dying in his Brooklyn home. Though he had reached his seventy-fourth year nobody expected his passing, so full of life he seemed. The great Plymouth Church which Beecher had built from the ground up during the forty years of his pastorate was thus left suddenly without leadership. Faced with the necessity of securing at once someone to stand in his place, the congregation turned to Lyman Abbott, the editor of *The Christian Union*, soon to emerge as the widely influential *Outlook*. At first only a temporary supply minister, at the end of eight months Lyman Abbott was called to be the permanent pastor; and for eleven years he carried on successfully as Henry Ward Beecher's successor, until failing strength and the increasing burden of two full-time tasks compelled him to relinquish the Plymouth Church pulpit.

In almost every way the contrast between Henry Ward Beecher and Lyman Abbott was most striking. Physically, one was the antithesis of the other. Abbott was under middle height, spare in flesh, gentle of voice, somewhat pale in features, calm and introspective, almost mystical. He often seemed while speaking "to look through the windows of the soul of things not seen with mortal vision." He was totally lacking in that gift of well-nigh magical eloquence which for forty years astonished and thrilled and held spell-bound the packed thousands in that famous Brooklyn meeting house. With none of that personal magnetism,

that intuitive knowledge of human nature, that all-creative imagination which had so distinguished his famous predecessor, Lyman Abbott, though he had not written a single sermon in seventeen years—and the sermons he had written before that “had long since served their only useful purpose in kindling fires”—stepped into that most famous pulpit in America, and carried on with distinguished success.

“When a church has been for forty years under one pastor, universally beloved by his people, and a successor comes to take his place, if he is efficient, he will bring with him some new ideals and some new methods; if he is wise, he will introduce these methods cautiously.” Here we have, I think, in Abbott’s own words one of the secrets of his success. Another was the fact that he had a wise father, under whose guidance was laid the foundation of much of Abbott’s theological thinking. Said father to son one day as they were making paths and trimming trees and shrubs at “Fewacres,” the family home in Maine—it was just after the young Abbott had decided to enter the ministry:

If I were a preacher I would make my first sermon of any convenient length. The next Sunday I would make it five minutes shorter, and I would continue to take off five minutes until the people complained that my sermons were too short. Then I would take five minutes off that, and the result should give me my standard.

Thirty years later Lyman Abbott put that advice into practice at Plymouth Church. Said he, “I was quite conscious that I never could preach as great sermons as Mr. Beecher, but I knew I could preach shorter ones.” The length of Beecher’s sermons was from an hour to an hour and a quarter; Abbott’s were rarely over thirty-five minutes

and not infrequently twenty-five, and when the congregation complained that his sermons were too short he always regarded that criticism as a compliment.

A second piece of advice which came from Jacob Abbott, the father, to Lyman Abbott, the son, was this: "It is," said he, "a principle of mechanics that if an object is at one point and you wish to take it to another point, you must carry it through all the intermediate points." "Remember," said he, "this is also a principle in morals. If your congregation is at one point and you wish to bring them to another point, you must carry them through all the intermediate points." If a locomotive were to start at sixty miles an hour, it would break the coupling and leave the train standing on the track. And just this is what often happens to radical preachers. They start at sixty miles an hour and leave the train standing on the track. Here is the secret of Lyman Abbott, why he perhaps did more than any other religious leader in America during his time, both as editor of the *Outlook* and as minister of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, to lead great numbers of confused and groping people to an acceptance of new views of the Bible and its use, and of the evolutionary philosophy, without the loss of their Christian faith.

A third counsel which Abbott received from this wise father of his was this. "I am convinced," said Jacob Abbott, "that nine-tenths of the controversies which have agitated the religious world have been controversies about words, and I rather think the other tenth has been also." Lyman Abbott acted upon this principle and in his writing and preaching came to avoid all the technical terms of scholastic theology, which he called the *patois of Canaan*. Theological terms are battle flags and just as soon as one

is raised, prejudice rushes to attack it, "and prejudice, often no more intelligent, rushes in to defend it." As a result a theological tournament ensues which in the end leaves everyone engaged in it just where he was in the beginning. And so from the start Lyman Abbott simply refused to raise these theological battle flags and both radical and conservative came to accept his leadership.

Beginning at about the time Lyman Abbott became the editor of the *Christian Union* (1876) and continuing throughout his pastorate of Plymouth Church, Protestant Christianity was facing two major crises. One was created by the Darwinian philosophy, the other by what was then known as the Higher Criticism. Darwin made no open attack upon the traditional views of creation as found in the Bible, but simply ignored them. The evolutionists were described by a Baptist writer as delighting "in ungoding the universe." The publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859 was chiefly the concern of scientists, but the publication in 1871 of his *Descent of Man* brought the whole question into the theological arena. Darwin's declaration that man's separation from the animal kingdom was one of degree only left no place for the fall of man. As a result, to put it mildly, the religious world was stirred from center to circumference, and a "scientific priesthood" with its dogmatic scorn "for all who had never worked in the laboratory or done deep sea dragging" began to appear.

How did Lyman Abbott approach the question of evolution? He said, "I found the doctrine of evolution . . . accepted by a steadily increasing number of scientific men. I recognized that they were as honest as I, as eager to learn the truth, and much more intelligent than I was upon all scientific subjects. I set myself to the task of getting a sym-

pathetic acquaintance with their point of view and seeing what was its bearing on Christian faith." Then he went back of the creeds to the Bible and found that the doctrine of the fall of man had no such importance in the Bible as in the theologies of the church. Jesus never alluded to it, nor did the apostles. Only Paul mentions it and that incidentally. Thus he came to accept John Fiske's aphorism: "Evolution is God's way of doing things"; that growth, not manufacture was God's way; that every day is a creative day. To the sneer, "So you think your ancestor was a monkey, do you?" he replied, "I would as soon have a monkey as a mud man for an ancestor."

To a people accustomed to believe in an infallible Bible, as did the American people generally up until the last decades of the last century, the gradual creeping in of the notion that it might not, after all, be the final and inerrant guide it was thought to be, naturally caused a tremendous shock. Coming to the United States by way of Germany and England, the higher criticism began to appear in certain educational centers along about the eighties and the nineties of the last century. President William Rainey Harper of the University of Chicago and Professor Charles A. Briggs of Union Theological Seminary were among the best-known leaders in Old Testament criticism, while Professors Bacon of Yale and Burton of Chicago were conspicuous New Testament critics.

In the light of these disturbing factors Lyman Abbott came to this position in regard to the Bible:

That it is not a book, fallible or infallible, about religion; it is a literature full of religion—that is, of the gradually developed experiences of men who had some perception of the Infinite in nature and in human life, which they re-

corded for the benefit of their own and subsequent times. And it is valuable not because it is a substitute for a living experience of a living God, but because it inspires us to look for our experience of God in our own times and in our own souls.

He contended that the real issue was not between the theological theories of inspiration, or the question of the atonement or miracles, "but between materialism and the life of the spirit." To him the fundamental question was "whether there is any life that is intangible, inaudible, invisible, which is operative upon us, of which we can have knowledge and concerning which we can form judgment, or whether all our knowledge is dependent on the conclusions which we draw from the world that is tangible, audible, visible."

In his approach to the Darwinian philosophy and the new views of the Bible Abbott was chiefly concerned as to how they might be accepted and at the same time leave a place for a positive and effective faith. Instead of allowing these new views to undermine the foundations of faith, he used them to undergird and strengthen faith. "The foundations of God standeth sure," became a favorite text, and from it he preached with quiet force, especially before student assemblies.

One of the new methods which he introduced at Plymouth Church was the Sunday evening lectures. Instead of preaching at these meetings the usual type of sermon he gave series of lectures on such live issues as *Christianity and the Social Problems*, *The Evolution of Christianity*, *The Theology of an Evolutionist*, *The Life and Literature of the Ancient Hebrews*, *The Life and Letters of Paul*. Here before crowded audiences and in the columns of the Out-

look he set forth his views on the Bible, on science and religion, and on the other major issues of the time, which did more to ground the faith of countless thousands of thinking laymen than any other work of his time.

Lyman Abbott made no profession of great learning. He was never handicapped by being an expert, and he would have disclaimed any large degree of originality. But he possessed that ability, amounting almost to genius, of appraising and setting forth the findings of scholars, and in applying them in a practical way to the religious problems at hand. In this respect, I think, he typifies the application of common sense to religion to a greater degree and to a better purpose than anyone else of his time.

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